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A Study of Reparation

E. L. KENDALL

III



Philadelphia

The Westminster Press

Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 60-10643

Theology Library
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
California

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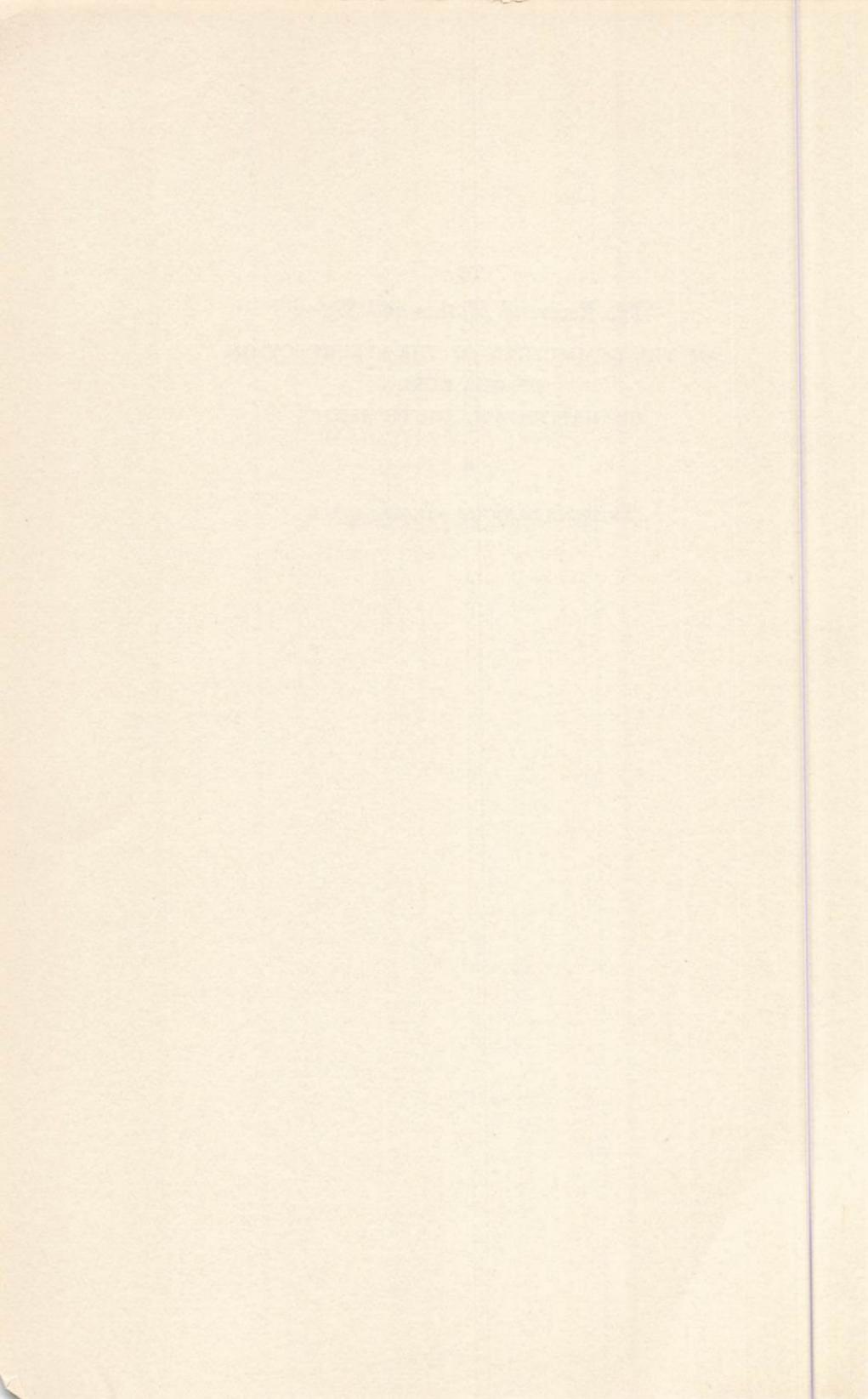
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TO
The Reverend Mother and Sisters
OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION
OF OUR LORD
GRAHAMSTOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

*

Tu omnia nosti; tu scis quia amo te



P R E F A C E

ANYONE who happens to look up 'reparation' in an ordinary dictionary or encyclopaedia will probably find information concerning the indemnity laid upon Germany at the conclusion of World War I, or concerning the provisions of Workmen's Compensation Acts. If he looks up 'reparation' in an encyclopaedia of the Christian religion he will probably not find it at all, or he will find it denoting a particular aspect of the theological doctrine of 'satisfaction' and especially of the sacrament of Penance. This study is offered in the belief that the word 'Reparation' deserves a wide currency in the Christian vocabulary of the present age, and is indispensable for a full and fruitful understanding of the meaning of the Atonement to the theologian, the apologist and the ordinary devout Christian alike.

Some two years ago the author had the privilege of visiting the grotto at Grecchio, where St Francis of Assisi set up the first Christmas crib to recall men to the true meaning of Christmas in an age, in this respect so strikingly like our own, when 'the Child Jesus had been given over to forgetfulness in the hearts of many'. On a wall in one of the rooms in the Franciscan convent which now encloses the cave where St Francis set up the crib, there is a deeply moving picture of the saint weeping over the rejection of Christ by the world. 'Love is not loved.' As the meaning of the Incarnation is symbolised by Bethlehem and yet is incomplete without Calvary and what lay beyond it, so, in a similar way, the meaning of Reparation is symbolised by Grecchio but is set within the context of the Redemption wrought by Christ.

Reparation, as I understand it, is a theological concept, for it is grounded in the biblical doctrines of the Love of God, the Redemption wrought by Christ, and the Church, the Body of Christ. Reparation is, moreover, an experience, or rather an activity, of the Christian life such as should be characteristic of every baptized Christian. For, in so far as the Church is the sphere of the Salvation wrought by Christ, and in so far as we are caught up into his redemptive activity by virtue of our union with him, Reparation may be said to include all the activities of the Christian life whereby Christians, individually or corporately, not only respond with love, obedience and penitence to the claim of God upon man, but also offer themselves to be used by him to further the salvation of others.

It would be impossible to thank severally all those who have helped with the making of this book, or to acknowledge all who have influenced

my thinking by their writing or their lives. I should, however, wish to offer my warmest thanks to the Rev. Professor G. W. H. Lampe, Vice-Principal of Birmingham University, for his friendship, help and encouragement throughout, his wise and penetrating criticism, and not least for allowing me access to the relevant section of the forthcoming *Lexicon of Patristic Greek*. I should also wish to record my grateful thanks to Mg. H. F. Davis, lately vice-rector of Oscott College, for reading the book in typescript and for his constructive help and criticism; to the present Bishop of Croydon for supplying me with the text of a sermon I heard him preach in Southwark Cathedral and for permission to quote from it; to various members of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, for much help in clarifying a number of points whether theological, practical or devotional; to the Community of the Resurrection of our Lord, Grahamstown, South Africa, for teaching me what books could not of the meaning of Reparation, for allowing me the privilege of dedicating my book to them, and for giving me much loving hospitality in their London house while I have been writing it; to the Library staffs of the British Museum and of Birmingham University, and to the editorial staff of the Student Christian Movement Press, for much patient, courteous and efficient assistance; to my friend, Miss M. J. Tolley, for her generous help and competence in reading the proofs; to my parents for their encouragement, and not least for their patience and indulgence while the book was being written. To all these I am greatly indebted, but for any faults which may still remain I alone must bear the responsibility.

*Sutton Coldfield
Feast of the Conversion of St Paul, 1960*

I

Introduction: The Nature of Reparation

THE PURPOSE of this study is to investigate the meaning and scope of Reparation as a Christian concept. In so far as Reparation is a term which can be used to describe the redeeming Work of Christ, and which can also be used to describe the participation of the Church, the Body of Christ, in the divine activity of redemption, it is impossible to crystallize its meaning within the confines of a single formula or definition. In order to investigate and to apprehend the deep and varied significance and scope of Reparation as a Christian concept, it is necessary to examine the word Reparation in its different connotations and various uses.

Our English word 'Reparation' is derived directly from the Latin word *reparatio*, a cognate of the verb *reparo* which was employed in classical and pre-Christian times in a variety of uses. From the many contexts in which *reparare* (sometimes confused with *recuperare* in ancient manuscripts) is to be found in classical Latin, four main meanings may be derived: (1) that of procuring again, recovering or retrieving; (2) that of restoring, repairing or renewing; (3) that of procuring by exchange or purchasing—a use common in mercantile language; (4) that of making good, restoring or repairing loss or damage.

As the word *reparo* and its cognates passed over into Christian usage it retained much of its old meaning but was clothed with a new and special significance. Earlier than Cassian and St Augustine, that is to say, from the time of Cyprian onwards, the verb *reparo* had come into Christian usage with a personal object, sometimes with baptism in the foreground, meaning 'to restore', 'to replace', 'to reform'.¹ A good deal of the thought of St Irenaeus and of St Athanasius is devoted to the implications of the Work of Christ in restoring to humanity the Divine Image that had been lost through Adam's sin, although neither of these two writers appears to have actually used Cassian's term '*Imaginis reparator*'. This usage is not wholly explained by the fact that there is no exact Greek equivalent for

¹ Cf. A. Souter, *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.*, 1949, *ad loc.*

the Latin *reparare* and its cognates, for much of the writings of these two authors is extant only in the Latin versions where the term does not appear to be used. So important, however, are the writings of St Athanasius and his predecessor, St Irenaeus, for our understanding of the reparative Work of Christ Incarnate that special consideration will be given to them in Chapter Four.

In English, the word 'reparation' has experienced a history very similar to its Latin original, except that in English it is the noun 'reparation' that has always been far the most widely used of all the cognate forms. The verbal form 'reparate' is very rare and when a verb is required, it is almost always made up from the noun—'to make reparation'. It is of help to our understanding of the scope of Reparation as a theological concept to investigate how wide a scope the associations of the word 'reparation' have always carried in our language, and how far secular and religious connotations have overlapped or been distinct.

For this purpose much help may be gained from the unabridged edition of the Oxford English Dictionary. There, six uses of the word *reparation* are cited. The first use, dating from Chaucer's England, is of reparation in the sense of reconciliation. That sense of the word, always rare, is now obsolete.

The second and principal use, that of 'restoring a thing to its proper state' or 'the renewal of a thing or part' corresponds to the widespread classical usage of *reparare* in the sense of restoring a thing to its original condition. There are many examples of the word being used in this sense in religious contexts, particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Hooker speaks of 'Holy water . . . papal salutations and the like which serve for reparations of grace decayed.' A seventeenth-century English writer picks up the theme which we have already noted in early patristic writers: 'This communication of the divine nature to us, is by reparation of the Divine Image in us.' In the same century an exposition of the Creed contains these words: 'The satisfaction consisteth in a reparation of that honour which by the injury was eclipsed.' Much more will be said subsequently about the connection between satisfaction and reparation in the matter of human sin. Suffice it here to notice that in theological contexts the idea of satisfaction is more readily associated with the notion of restoration and renewal. At the end of the seventeenth century another writer spoke of the 'Universal Redemption and Reparation that all mankind shall have in Christ Jesus.'

The third use which the Oxford Dictionary cites is that of repairing or mending, especially with reference to material things, particularly build-

ings or other structures. Many examples are given of this use in common language between 1400 and 1867. At the present day this idea is more usually expressed by 'repair'. A similar use of the word in early times denoted the sums of money spent on repairs.

The fifth use of the word reparation, and that a very important and prevalent one, is in the sense of making amends for a wrong done, making compensation, making good. This use also is consonant with frequent classical usage and it is this sense which comes to the fore in Greek renderings of the notion of reparation (*ameibo* and cognates, etc.). Henry V said, 'For defaute of reparacion and restitution of such attemptates as be made by certain of our subgettes . . .' In his paraphrased version of the New Testament, at the end of the seventeenth century, Richard Baxter wrote: 'If thou have wronged any man, delay not reparation of his wrong.'

A survey of the history and use of the word 'reparation' in Latin and English renders it possible to make certain observations which are important for our investigation of Reparation as a specifically Christian concept. In the first place, the notion of Reparation has always been found in a diversity of contexts. The main connotations of the notion of Reparation are restoration, restitution and compensation. Secondly, these main connotations of restoration, restitution and compensation belong to both the secular and religious uses of the word. Thirdly, although in certain contexts the word 'reparation' has acquired a specific meaning, either secular or theological, the notion of Reparation has never been restricted to a single use or confined to one particular connotation. Fourthly, it may well avoid confusion to note that, being used in so many diverse contexts, the idea of Reparation is employed sometimes in a physical, sometimes a metaphorical, sometimes a moral and sometimes in an abstract sense.

As we endeavour to elucidate and to expound a full and fruitful doctrine of Reparation we shall find that all the four observations just made are not only useful but also essential to our investigation. In seeking to understand and to express the redeeming Work of Christ and the Church's participation in the divine activity of redemption in terms of Reparation, we shall find that the notion of Reparation finds expression in a diversity of contexts; that the ideas of restoration, restitution and compensation are still the dominant ones and that, moreover, these ideas are not mutually exclusive but rather complementary; that it is possible to employ the word 'Reparation' with a number of special uses within the context of Christian thought and practice, but that the focus of a balanced and fruitful doctrine of Reparation is destroyed if an attempt is made to restrict its meaning to a single definition or formula; and that it is not always wise

or necessary to press too hard the distinction between the metaphorical and literal uses of a word or expression as the vehicle of Christian truth, which, in some aspects at least, must always elude precise definition.

The foregoing observations have been based on a survey which for etymological reasons has been confined to Latin and English. Notice has been taken of the fact that there is no exact Greek equivalent for the Latin *reparare* and its cognates, and of the fact that it is the idea of making compensation or amendment which comes to the fore in classical Greek renderings of the notion of reparation. It is important and interesting to observe, however, that some of the connotations of reparation that we shall find integral and essential to a full, theological doctrine of Reparation are expressed in early Christian writers by the notion of *antimisthia*. To some consideration of its usage we must therefore turn.

Antimisthia is not found in classical writers, but it is found twice in the New Testament (Rom. 1.27; II Cor. 6.13) and a number of times amongst patristic authors. In the majority of cases in patristic usage the word *antimisthia* carries the sense of reward for well-doing, or of penalty for evil-doing; sometimes related to this life and sometimes to the future life.

Of the greatest interest and relevance to our present purpose, however, is the ancient homily traditionally ascribed to Clement of Rome and known as his *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*. II Clement appears to be the only ancient Christian writing in which *antimisthia* occurs a number of times. Moreover it is used in a variety of senses. They throw so much light on what I believe to be a right understanding of Reparation as an essential Christian doctrine that I propose to quote them at some length.

First of all, the author bids the Christians to whom he is writing consider how Jesus Christ saved them when they were perishing and therefore to consider what they can do for him in return.

... and how many things Jesus Christ endured to suffer for our sakes. What recompense (*ἀντιμισθίαν*) then shall we give unto him?—or what fruit worthy of his own gift to us? And how many mercies do we owe him! For he bestowed the light upon us; he spake to us as a father to his sons; he saved us when we were perishing. What praise then shall we give to him?—or what payment of recompense (*ὴ μισθίαν* *ἀντιμισθίας*) for those things which we received? (II Clement, 1.)

Consideration of the depth of the Lord's suffering on man's behalf and of the effects of the Redemption wrought by him on man's eternal destiny results in the desire to offer him some recompense in return. As our investigation proceeds we shall frequently find the same considerations

prompting the desire to make Reparation, and that only when it springs from similar motives, and not from motives of fear or appeasement, can Reparation be thought of as an authentic Christian activity.

That there was no thought of offering appeasement to an angry God behind the author's appeal to offer him a recompense is apparent from the context of the next *antimisthia* passage:

While we have time to be healed, let us place ourselves in the hands of God the physician, giving him a recompense (*antimisthia*). What recompense? Repentance from a sincere heart. (*II Clement*, 9.)

The motive of Reparation as a Christian activity is loving gratitude and the activity itself is to be expressed in a life of loving penitence. Reparation is certainly grounded in repentance, but a repentance which bears all the qualities of the *metanoia* of the New Testament, grounded in the propitiation which Jesus himself made, and which only he could make, but free from all idea of appeasement and from the mathematical connotations of the treasury of merit.

One of the chief purposes of this study is to unfold the meaning of Reparation as a Christian activity whereby Christians participate in the redemptive activity of God himself, and to show that all authentic Christianity must be reparative in quality and character. No self-conscious individualistic piety can be a substitute for a vigorous churchmanship which expresses itself in an activity of worship, prayer and work for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. In a later passage than the ones already quoted the ancient homily equates the recompense that we can pay to God for our own salvation with the salvation of another soul:

'For it is no mean reward (*misthos*) to convert a wandering and perishing soul, that it may be saved. For this is the recompense (*antimisthia*) we are able to pay to God who created us.' (*II Clement*, 15.)

In subsequent chapters we shall hope to show how every aspect, if it is authentic, of the Christian life, including the life of contemplative prayer and the strivings towards personal sanctification, must be shot through with reparative self-giving on behalf of others.

On one occasion the author of *II Clement* refers to the faithfulness or consistency of God in paying to each man the recompense of his works ($\tauὰς ἀντιμισθίας . . . τῶν ἔργων ἀντοῦ$). On another occasion he speaks of God paying the recompense of the righteous, but then he uses the word *misthos*.

A comparison of the use of *antimisthia* in ancient Christian writers shows a clear distinction of meaning such as we have delineated above:

briefly, when man is the subject of the verb, *antimisthia* denotes 'recompense'; when God is the subject of the verb, *antimisthia* denotes 'reward'. This is a further point that strengthens the contention that the idea of reward has little relevance, if any, to the Christian doctrine of Reparation. The true meaning of Reparation in all its different aspects can only be defined and understood in any theological sense when it is remembered that it is offered by man to God, whether by Christ as Man, or in Christ by redeemed humanity.

The foregoing linguistic considerations and observations indicate that it is not easy to present the doctrine of Reparation in all its depth and diversity in a systematic manner. Some attempt, however, must be made, with as little overlapping as possible. Some overlapping is inevitable, nevertheless; for it is impossible to treat the different aspects of the subject in complete isolation from one another, just as it is impossible for a complete and balanced apprehension of the meaning of the Christian Faith to keep in isolation from one another the Person and the Work of Christ; or his Life and Death; or his Death and his Glorification; or the redeeming action of his Incarnate Life and the re-presentation of it in the Church which is his Body and especially in the Eucharist.

Moreover, the investigation of the meaning and scope of Reparation as an essential Christian doctrine is a study which does not lend itself to cumulative argument. There will, therefore, be no 'Summary of Conclusions' in the last chapter. To some extent each chapter is complete in itself, yet its full import can be seen only in relation to the whole, which it is hoped, may illustrate and conform to Maritain's principle of '*distinguier pour unir*'. The detachment of any one chapter, however, as distilling the essence of the meaning of Reparation more than the rest may well lead to similar distortions and objections, some of which will be picked out for special mention at the beginning of the next chapter.

2

The Biblical Basis of Reparation

THE AVERTING of the divine anger is often taken to be a primary, if not the main motive of reparation on the part of Christians, and the expected result is that God will not bring down the vengeance of heaven upon the sins of earth, and that he will deflect the punishment which human sin merits. Père Plus, for example, in his oft-quoted book, *The Ideal of Reparation*,¹ speaks of sins which cry to heaven for vengeance and remarks: 'It will fare badly with us if there are not voluntary victims forthcoming to fling into the other scale of divine justice their sacrifices to God.' He claims that 'one single mortal sin in itself is sufficient to cause God to send some great calamity upon the earth.' In his view, Religious 'act as lightning-conductors for the anger of God', and every Christian, 'who desires to remedy or prevent sin, must place some counterpoise in the scale of God's justice', and should, therefore, 'make Reparation from a motive of self-interest. If he evades this obligation, the whole Christian body, all civilized society, an entire nation, may have to expiate his want of foresight or sinful indifference.'²

Such a conception is open to grave objection, along three lines at least. In the first place, it postulates a conception of God unworthy of the highest thought of the Old Testament and alien to the New. In the second place, it does less than justice to the effects of the Redemption wrought by Christ and suggests an inadequate and unbalanced perception of the meaning of the Atonement. In the third place, it seems to misinterpret the concept of Reparation as a creative activity in which Christians may, and indeed must, take part by virtue of their membership of the Christian Church, which is the Body of Christ.

It has already been stated that the aim of this study is to investigate the meaning and scope of Reparation within the Christian life. In order to

¹ English translation, 1921.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 64. In fairness to Père Plus it should be stated that he does also recognize the importance of love as a motive of reparation, e.g. p. 65.

do this, and in order to avoid such distortions as those outlined above, it is essential, at the outset, to emphasize the fact that Reparation, as an expression of Christian thought and practice, rests on three fundamental truths of the Bible: namely, the love of God; the Redemption wrought by Christ; the Church as the Body of Christ. To these three themes, therefore, we must now give some brief consideration.

THE LOVE OF GOD

It is one of the paradoxes of biblical theology that the inscrutability of the divine mind and the revelation of the divine nature stand side by side in Holy Scripture: 'The secret things belong unto the Lord our God: but the things that are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever' (Deut. 29.29).

The Jewish-Christian religion is a revealed religion in that it possesses the truth about God as that truth is revealed in the Bible through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit working through many different people, in greatly different circumstances, and at widely separated epochs; and in that it recognizes that man by his own unaided cleverness or curiosity cannot attain to a revelation of the truth about God. While it is true that many of the early narratives of the Old Testament betray a severely anthropomorphic conception of God, and while the expiatory element evidently played a large part (though by no means the only part), in the sacrificial cultus of Ancient Israel, yet it is equally true that neither of these two conceptions plays a final or decisive part in the revelation of the Bible, even within the Old Testament itself (though perhaps neither is eradicated completely). Moreover, the values of the Old Testament are often transcended in, and must, in any case, be weighed alongside, the New. In this sense it is true and necessary to speak of a 'progressive revelation' of God in the Bible. 'God is love' says St John (I John 4.8). That is the 'last word' of both the Old and the New Testaments concerning the character of God. Herein we find the key to the resolution of the paradox of the inscrutability of the divine mind and the revelation of the divine nature, for both are grounded in his eternal love. The meaning of Reparation is quickly distorted if it is isolated from the revealed character of God in Holy Scripture. Hence we must insist that the theory and practice of Reparation if it is to be fruitful in Christian life and thought—must be grounded in the doctrine of the love of God.

In the Old Testament the love of God is manifested both with regard to the people of Israel as a whole and with regard to the individual

Israelite; and it is seen to be at grips with the problems of sin and suffering.

The distinguishing feature of the religion of Ancient Israel was not only the monolatry, if not monotheism, which characterized it from the beginning, but the fact that, from the time of Abraham onwards, the whole life and worship of the Hebrews depended on, and took their meaning from, the Covenant relationship that existed between Yahweh and his people: 'And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee throughout their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee and to thy seed, after thee. . . . And as for thee, thou shalt keep my covenant, thou, and thy seed after thee throughout their generations' (Gen. 17.7, 9; P).

Both the Law and the Prophets can be understood only in the context of this Covenant relationship which bound Yahweh to his people, and they to him. The keynote of this relationship was love—on God's side, the love of God in his eternal nature which brought the Covenant into being (Hebrew: *ahabah*), and the steady, persistent love of God in his dealings with his chosen people in spite of all their waywardness and back-sliding, that Love which was the means of the Covenant's continuance (Hebrew: *chesed*); on man's side, that commixture of love and duty, analogous to the Latin conception of *pietas*, which was expressed in his faithfulness to the requirements of the Law.

Briefly stated, the problem of the Old Testament is the problem of the broken Covenant, broken by man through sin, but not broken by God. To this all the great prophets of the Old Testament, from Amos onwards, bear witness, holding in balance (some more easily than others) God's righteousness on the one hand and his steady, Covenant-love on the other. Hence, while the prophets stress the stern retribution which must attend on sin, retribution is not their last word. The prophetic hope is that God will not let his people go, that the Covenant will survive even though with the smallest Remnant, and that it will ultimately be renewed (e.g. Jer. 31.31-34). All this could be only because the Covenant-love of God is steadfast and unchanging (cf. Deut. 7.9 *et passim*). Speaking in the name of God, the prophet Malachi laments: 'I have loved you, saith the Lord. Yet ye say, Wherein hast thou loved us?' (Mal. 1.2). The spirituality of the Old Testament, at its highest and best, attained the perception that the horror of sin does not lie primarily in the fear of divine vengeance, and that the tragedy of the broken Covenant does not lie in the number of its broken laws and observances, but rather in the rejection of God's love.

As with the nation, so with the individual, the main attribute of God in

dealing with his people is love. Although it is not always easy to say with certainty whether many of the passages of the Old Testament originally bore an individual or a corporate interpretation, there is no doubt that the individual Israelite, within the context of Israel as 'a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation' (Ex. 19.6) was called into a living and personal relationship with the God of Israel. It was, for example, through the unhappiness of his own domestic life and because of his frequent need to forgive his own unfaithful wife that the prophet Hosea was led to a deep awareness of the loving mercy of God. The prophet's words describing God's dealings with his chosen people—'I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of love' (Hos. 11.4)—are equally true of his dealings with individuals. Again, as God leads the whole people of God like a shepherd his flock (cf. Ps. 80.1), so too he cares for the individual as a shepherd tends his separate sheep (cf. Ps. 23.1). Again, as the corporate sin of Israel is seen at its starest only when it is seen as rebellion against God and rejection of his love, so too the sin of the individual is seen to be primarily an offence against the majesty and the love of God (cf. Ps. 51.4, etc.).

Throughout the Old Testament there is an inalienable connection between suffering and sin. Running like a refrain through the book of Judges is the sequence: 'And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord: and the Lord delivered them into the hand of—' (Judg. 6.1). In those parts of the Old Testament where we reach the highest moral plane to be found therein, namely in the utterances of the great prophets from the eighth century onwards, suffering of whatever kind is universally regarded as the inevitable punishment for sin.

Equally, throughout the Old Testament there is an inalienable connection between sacrifice and sin. The climax of the various sacrificial rites of the Old Testament was the great annual ceremony on the Day of Atonement when the high-priest entered the Holy of Holies to make atonement 'for himself, and for his household, and for all the assembly of Israel' (Lev. 16.17). To what extent the Jews thought that the Day of Atonement ceremonies applied to sins committed 'with a high hand', and to what extent, in actual practice, they were able to separate in their minds ritual and moral offences, it would be very difficult to say. Neither of these problems, however, alters the basic conception that sacrifice and sin are inter-related.

Rarely in the Old Testament are the themes of suffering, sin and sacrifice brought together. The great exception to this is, however, in Deutero-Isaiah, in the four poems known as the Suffering Servant Songs, and par-

ticularly the fourth one. Here (Isa. 52.13–53.12) is sketched the career of God's chosen servant who will take upon himself the weight of the nation's sins, and will accomplish God's purpose by means of suffering. Nowhere in the Old Testament does the conception of sacrificial love reach a higher peak. Although in Old Testament times the ideal of the Suffering Servant of Yahweh was never, apparently, correlated with the various expectations concerning the Messiah, yet, from a very early date, Christians saw the Suffering Servant Songs, and particularly the fourth one, perfectly fulfilled in the Passion and Death of the Christ.

St Augustine's maxim—'The New Testament lay hidden in the Old; the Old Testament is revealed in the New'—is especially true of the great biblical conception of the love of God. It is the same love of God which shines through the Law and the Prophets, and which shone in the face of Jesus Christ. 'God was in Christ', declared the Apostle Paul (II Cor. 5.19), and it is in Jesus Christ that the love of God is supremely and perfectly manifested in the redeeming action of his Life, Death and Resurrection and in the setting forth of it in the Eucharist. To the Redemption wrought by Christ we must now give some consideration.

THE REDEMPTION WROUGHT BY CHRIST

It is not necessary for our present purpose (even if it were possible) to review the whole scope of the Redemption wrought by Christ, or to attempt a history of the doctrine of the Atonement. In this chapter an attempt will be made to sketch out the main theological implications of the redeeming action of Christ, which illumine the meaning of Reparation. In subsequent chapters, such theories of the Atonement as bear on the meaning of Reparation will be dealt with.

Jesus, 'because he abideth for ever, hath his priesthood unchangeable. Wherefore also he is able to save to the uttermost them that draw near unto God through him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. For such a high-priest became us, holy, guileless, undefiled, separated from sinners, and made higher than the heavens; who needeth not daily, like those high priests, to offer up sacrifices, first for his own sins, and then for the sins of the people: for this he did once for all, when he offered up himself' (Heb. 7.24–27). It is of the utmost importance to emphasize the fact that a fruitful understanding of the meaning of Reparation in its fullness depends on, and springs out of our apprehension of the truth of the High-Priesthood of Christ.

The essence of priesthood, wherever it exists, is the bringing of man to

God, and God to man. In the preceding section we have spoken of the bankruptcy of the Old Testament as regards finding a solution to the problem of sin. Whatever there may have been of value and of spiritual perception in the various sacrificial rites of the Hebrew religion, rites which came to depend more and more on the services of an official priesthood, especially in the complex ritual of the restored Temple, they were all impotent to bridge the gulf between God and man, to repair the damage done to God's creation by human sin, or to recompense the offended love and majesty of God. The prophetic reform of the eighth century BC did much to recall the Hebrew nation to its obligations under the Covenant, and to establish in the religious consciousness of the nation the truth that the holiness of Yahweh was inseparable from his righteousness. Nevertheless the problem of Israel's sin remained. Indeed, the witness of the prophets from the eighth century onwards served to intensify the nation's sense of sin and, while they held out the promise of restoration and forgiveness, they were as impotent as the cultic sacrifices and ceremonies to remove the guilt.

The effect of human sin was to mar and deface, though not to annihilate, in man the image of God in which he had been created (cf. Gen. 1.27, P). One of the primary effects of the Incarnation was the restoration of human nature in the Person of Jesus Christ. In the New Testament this truth is expressed in terms of the Second Adam: 'For if by the trespass of the one the many died, much more did the grace of God, and the gift by the grace of the one man, Jesus Christ, abound unto the many—For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive' (Rom. 5.15; I Cor. 15.22). Only he, in whom sinless human nature was one with the divine nature, 'Jesus, the Son of God' (Heb. 4.14), could offer a sacrifice for sin on our behalf which could be perfectly acceptable to God the Father. 'Wherefore it behoved him,' says the writer to the Hebrews, 'in all things to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high-priest in things pertaining to God, to make propitiation for the sins of the people' (2.17). Christ is the High-Priest of our redemption and his High-Priesthood has both a God-ward and a man-ward aspect.

The sacrifice for sin which Jesus made was the sacrifice of himself in perfect self-giving and in complete obedience to the Father's will. From the moment of his Incarnation our Lord began to carry out the world's salvation. Jesus saved us by his life as well as by his Death and we do well not to isolate them completely, for we cannot entirely separate the Atonement and the Incarnation—as many a Christian writer has discovered. Throughout the 'blessed steps of his most holy life' the Sacrificial Priest-

hood of Christ expressed itself in renunciation on the one hand and in oblation on the other; twin elements in the perfect consecration of body, mind and spirit of the God-Man.

'Glorious now behold him arise,
King and Priest and Sacrifice,'

we sing in the words of an old carol. The sacrifice which Jesus made by the perfect offering of his Life and Death, he, our risen and glorified High-Priest, eternally presents to the Father in heaven. As we have seen that we may not separate the Death of Christ from his Life, so we may not separate it from his Exaltation. Moreover, the High-Priesthood of Christ which is manifested in his Life, Death, Resurrection and Ascension is also set forth in the Eucharist. For it is through our Lord's High-Priestly action in the Eucharist that the whole drama of our Redemption is made present in all places and at all times, 'not as a new event in history, but as a permanent reality communicated to the Church under the sacramental signs'.¹

True and necessary though it is to see the Redemption wrought by Christ as a unity, the fact remains, however, that the climax of his redeeming action is the drama of his Passion and Death. For the complete obedience of the Son to the Father's will found its perfect consummation in his self-oblation on the Cross where as Priest and Victim he offered himself, that God might be glorified and that men might be saved. The uniqueness of the Crucifixion lay not in the instrument of the Cross, but in the Person of him, 'the Apostle and High-Priest of our confession' (Heb. 3.1; cf. Rom. 5.19) who died upon it. In the perfect self-oblation of the divine Victim, a criminal's death is transformed into the atoning Sacrifice of Jesus, the supreme and eternal Priest. On Calvary Christ made Reparation to God on man's behalf, through the offering of the one 'full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world.'²

The victory of Christ on the Cross was only won through the endurance of suffering at every level of human experience, and beyond the reach of human understanding. From the moment of agony in the Garden of Gethsemane when 'his sweat became as it were great drops of blood falling down upon the ground' (Luke 22.44) through the desolation of the mysterious cry from the Cross, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' (Matt. 27.46) to the final moment when he 'cried again with a loud voice, and yielded up his spirit' (Matt. 27.50), the suffering of Jesus

¹ E. L. Mascall, *Corpus Christi*, 1953, p. 109.

² B.C.P. Communion Service.

was intense and unabated. Sacrifice is ever a costly thing, and the Cross is the symbol to the Christian of what it cost God to redeem the world.

Despite all this, the Saviour approached his Passion, not in any spirit of stoical acceptance, but in a spirit of joyous self-abandonment to divine Providence. On the road to Emmaus, after the Resurrection, he reminded his disciples that his death was the means of entering into his glory, and the writer to the Hebrews declares that it was for the 'joy that was set before him' that he 'endured the cross, despising the shame' (12.2). Our Lord made his final journey to Jerusalem knowing what lay ahead of him, and he endured his Passion having not only counted the cost of his Sacrifice, but having also seen beyond it to its fruits, namely the salvation of the world. Similarly, we shall hope to shew that Reparation involves an element of joy as well as an element of suffering, and its goal is no less than the salvation of souls.

Once, only once, and once for all,
His precious life he gave;
Before the Cross in faith we fall
And own it strong to save.

The lines of a familiar hymn remind us that the Redemption which Christ won for us on the Cross is a 'finished work' in that it cannot be repeated within the order of history, but that at the same time the effects of that Redemption have to be applied to every individual soul in each succeeding generation. What Christ did for us, he now does in us. In so far as the Christian life is a uniting with the divine activity, Christians, both individually and corporately, are caught up into the redemptive, reparative activity of Christ himself. As the 'royal priesthood', they participate in his High-Priesthood. This brings us to a consideration of the New Testament conception of the Church.

THE CHURCH WHICH IS HIS BODY

The first era of Christian history, as the New Testament records testify, knows of no attempt in theory or practice to isolate Christ and the Church, to substitute one for the other, or to place them in juxtaposition. Still less is there any thought of the individual Christian fulfilling his discipleship except within the context of his Baptism. From the day of Pentecost onwards, the fact of Christ includes the fact of the Church.

In order to understand the New Testament conception of the nature and organization of the Christian Church it is necessary to investigate the Greek word *ekklesia*—which the Authorized and Revised Versions of

the English Bible everywhere render 'church'—in its diverse contexts. We cannot here examine every passage in the New Testament where the word *ekklesia* occurs; we can do no more than offer the conclusions to which such an examination has led.¹

In the Acts of the Apostles the word is first² used to denote the Christian community at Jerusalem and it is used in an absolute sense such as was unknown in classical and contemporary Greek. In New Testament usage the word *ekklesia* evidently possessed a connotation which implied that the Church was 'a number of men and women who formed, in some way or another, a corporate body even when not assembled.'³ Such a usage takes us back to the language of the Septuagint which abounds in references to the *ἐκκλησία τοῦ κυρίου*⁴ which finally became a 'common scriptural phrase with exactly the same allusion to Israel's vocation as the *qahal* of Israel'.⁵

Nevertheless it is impossible to interpret the New Testament word *ekklesia* solely in the light of the Old Testament, whether the connotation be primarily that of the original Hebrew *qahal* or of *edhah*, or of a combination of the two. There are many New Testament instances where the associations of the word *ekklesia*, especially when it is used in the plural, cannot be explained by its Old Testament history, but are readily intelligible in the light of the new Christian conception of *ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡτις ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ*.⁶

In the later chapters of Acts the word *ekklesia* is used of the local Christian communities (e.g. Acts 11.26), as it had in the earlier chapters been applied to the original church at Jerusalem. St Paul uses the word frequently in a similar sense of separate local Christian communities (e.g. Rom. 16.1). Both in Acts (e.g. 15.41) and in the Pauline Epistles (e.g. I Thess. 2.14) the word is used in the plural to denote a number of local churches. St Paul also uses the word to denote even smaller bodies within the local community, the 'house-churches' of Aquila and Priscilla and others (e.g. I Cor. 16.19). In the Epistle to the Corinthians (I Cor. 11.18) the word is used especially to denote the solemn assembly of Christians for the liturgy—a use which Dom Gregory Dix regarded as primary until the third century.⁷ The word is also used in the singular, as we have seen,

¹ For a full discussion see: Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, 1887, esp. ch. 1; Hoskyns and Davey, *The Riddle of the New Testament*, 1931, pp. 25–32; Ramsey, *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*, 1937, ed., p. 44; Kittel, *Bible Key Words: The Church*, 1950, ch. 1 *et passim*; Fuller's article on 'Church' in *A Theological Word Book of the Bible*, ed. A. A. Richardson, 1950.

² 5.11; cf. 8.1–3; and I Cor. 15.9.

³ Hoskyns and Davey, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁴ Deut. 4.10; 23.2, *et passim*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁶ 'The Church which is his body' (Eph. 1.22–3).

⁷ Cf. G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 1949 ed., p. 19.

in the preceding paragraph, to denote the 'whole' church (cf. Acts 20.28), which is the Body of Christ.

To the Pauline phrase ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡτοι ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ we must now give some consideration. In the New Testament the same word *soma* is used to denote the physical (Mark 15.43), the glorified (Phil. 3.21), and the Eucharistic (Mark 14.22) Body of Jesus. In the Pauline Epistles the word is also used frequently to denote the Body of Christ which is the Church (e.g. Rom. 12.5 and after). An examination of the New Testament word *ekklesia* has made it clear that the Christian Church is a visible, living, and organized society; a worshipping community; sharing a corporate life, yet made up of individual members. Those passages which speak of the Church as the Body of Christ make it equally clear that the Christian Church is less an institution than a living organism.

The conception of the Church as the Body of Christ makes plain the truth that Christianity is never solitary, for to be baptized into Christ is to be baptized into the Church which is his Body. In the preceding section we have spoken of the Redemption wrought by Christ, High-Priest, and of the need to make available the benefits of that Redemption in each succeeding age. In the Captivity Epistles especially, St Paul sets Jesus before us as the one Mediator between God and man, whose function it is to reconcile and unite all things and all people in himself and present them to his Father: 'For he is our peace, who made both one¹ . . . that he might reconcile them both in one body unto God through the Cross . . . that he might present the church to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish' (Eph. 2.14a, 16; 5.27).

There precisely we see the relevance of the Church to mankind. She is to be the means by which souls are drawn to Christ and saved by him for ever, offering to God the worship and homage of restored humanity. As Professor C. H. Dodd has said, 'All that is said about the significance of the work of Christ presupposes that he includes in himself the whole people of God, or redeemed humanity. His death and resurrection are not to be understood if they are thought of as no more than the death and miraculous resuscitation of an individual, but only if they are seen as the fulfilment of the whole purpose of God to raise up for himself, through suffering, tribulation and disaster, a people made wholly one in him and devoted to this righteous purpose.'²

Sometimes St Paul's thought changes from the idea of the Church as a corporate whole to the thought of her individual members. Then he speaks

¹ I.e. Jews and Gentiles.

² Lecture to London University, 1952.

of her 'head, even Christ; from whom all the body fitly framed and knit together . . . according to the working in due measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love' (Eph. 4.15-16; cf. Col. 2.19). The Apostle's changing metaphors reflect different aspects of the relationship between Christ and his Church, a relationship which is grounded in mutual love. So close is the union between Christ and his Church, and so vital a part has the Church to play as the instrument of salvation, that St Paul can think of his own sufferings as the means whereby he fills up on his part 'that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church' (Col. 1.24). Whatever may be the meaning of this difficult expression (to which further consideration will be given), the Apostle assumes an identity of life between Christ and his Church.

The dominant conception of the Church in the New Testament is that she is the sphere of the salvation wrought by Christ, the instrument through which Christ's saving work is made known and its effects are appropriated, through a new access of men to God. The life of the Church Militant is therefore a continual re-presentation of the redemptive action of Christ. It is only within such a context as this that, as we shall see, Reparation as a Christian concept can be understood.

3

Reparation: A Work of Love

THE TRAGEDY of the Old Testament as well as its dilemma was that the People of the Covenant had so often turned their backs upon their God and despised his ordinances, that there were times when they no longer recognized the Covenant-love of God as the foundation of their relationship with him. The opening words of the book of Malachi epitomize the tragedy of the situation, indicating that God's people had gone so far as to reproach him with lack of love: 'I have loved you, saith the Lord. Yet ye say, Wherein hast thou loved us?' (Mal. 1.2).

Throughout their history God had taken the initiative in calling the Hebrews into a life of covenant fellowship with himself. The words of Jeremiah may be taken as a commentary on God's dealing with his people throughout the whole of the Old Testament period: 'Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love: therefore with loving-kindness have I drawn thee' (Jer. 31.3). When the time came for the prophet's words to be fulfilled in the establishment of the New Covenant, it was God who took the initiative. St Paul went to the heart of the mystery of our Redemption when he wrote: 'But God commendeth his own love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us' (Rom. 5.8).

Far-reaching as was the rejection of the Covenant-love of God by many in Ancient Israel, even more far-reaching was the rejection of the divine love incarnate in the Person of Jesus Christ. The significance of the rejection of Jesus by the Jews is expressed in the Synoptic Gospels in parabolic form in the story of the wicked husbandmen and that of the marriage of the king's son, and in symbolic form in the account of the darkness which enveloped the earth at the time of our Lord's Death upon the Cross. The crux of the sermon which Peter delivered in Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost was that in crucifying Jesus the Jews had slain their own Messiah, and this theme became the keynote of the Apostolic Preaching as it is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles (e.g. Acts 2.14-36). The prologue to the Fourth Gospel declares simply: 'He came unto his

own, and they that were his own received him not' (John 1.11). The meaning of this rejection is expounded in various ways in later parts of the Gospel, especially in the contrast which is made between light and darkness, and the comparison between the physically blind and the spiritually blind of whom it is inferred that their blindness is brought about by wilful rejection of the power to see (esp. John 8.12 and 9.1-41).

The meaning of the rejection of Jesus, with its culmination in the crucifixion, as it was apprehended by the New Testament writers as a whole can perhaps be summarized in the comment of the fourth evangelist: 'And this is the judgement, that the light is come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than the light; for their works were evil' (John 3.19).

It is, however, equally the universal teaching of the New Testament as a whole that God reversed the judgement of men and, of his own power, turned the cross into the instrument of the world's redemption. That the uniqueness of the crucifixion lay not in the cross as an instrument of death but in the Person of him who died upon it, is demonstrated by the glorious and triumphant events of the Resurrection, the Ascension and the Day of Pentecost. By the power of the Holy Spirit the Apostles were led to declare, and the first Jewish converts to receive, the truth 'that God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified' (Acts 2.36). Through the guidance of the Holy Spirit in the Early Church, both Jewish and Gentile Christians alike were led to understand and to experience the fact that the Christian life was nothing less than a sharing with Christ the power of the Risen Life. The mainspring of their response was the desire to return love and obedience, in the place of hate and rejection, to God who had already taken the initiative. The same response is demanded of every Christian in each succeeding age and generation and may well be called Reparation.

Every year in Lent and in Passiontide the Church sets before us in her Liturgy the sufferings of her Saviour. The prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah concerning the Suffering Servant of Yahweh is seen to be perfectly fulfilled in the Passion of Christ. 'He was despised, and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief.' The self-giving love of God poured out to the utmost in the Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross met with scorn and hatred on the first Good Friday. The penitential devotions of Catholic Christians reach their climax in the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, when, in an act of simple and moving symbolism, the sufferings and death of Christ are honoured with loving penitence.

Not only in the doctrine of the Fall but also, as we have seen, in the

historical events of the Old and New Testaments the claim of God upon men is the claim of love, and the sin of man is the rejection of that claim and of that love. Reparation as a Christian activity, whether of the Church as a whole or of the individual Christian, may well be described as the acknowledgement of the claim of God upon man and the response made to it. That sorrow for sin is the very foundation of the work of Reparation we have seen to be demonstrated both by the New Testament records and by the practices of Christian devotion.

However, to understand the meaning and scope of Reparation as a Christian activity we must turn to the great masters of the spiritual life of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It goes without saying that it is not only in the writers of those two centuries that this particular ideal of Reparation is manifested, but they have been chosen as being both classical and representative examples of that ideal of Reparation wherein the motive and the end of it is to render love, honour and glory to God, and to bring about the conversion of souls and the salvation of all men, notwithstanding the fact that the term 'reparation' itself does not appear to have been used in their writings.

That sorrow for sin which we have seen to be the foundation of the activity of Reparation is evoked in the lives and writings of the saints, as in the New Testament, by a consideration of the Passion of Christ. For St Francis of Assisi sorrow for sin was grounded in compassion for the sufferings of the Crucified as an ever-present reality. That the saving events of the gospel have a timelessness about them and possess an eternal significance as well as an historical reality is illustrated in the life of St Francis by the story that in the ruined church of St Damien the crucifix spoke to him and commanded him to restore the ruined building for the praise and worship of God. His devotion to the Crucified led him to a life of single-minded prayer, suffering and service, all of which were linked together by his all-embracing love of God. His whole life was one of such complete identification with the Passion of Christ that he became a channel through which the Holy Spirit could work effectively for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. So wholly did he identify himself with the Passion that Christ's sufferings were reproduced in the body of the saint by means of the holy stigmata two years before his death.

In the life of St Francis and in the lives and writings of many of the saints after him, down to and including those of our own day, sorrow for sin, which is an essential element in the work of Reparation, springs from the contemplation of the physical sufferings of Christ and results in the desire for identification with his Passion. We have already considered that

the spirituality of the New Testament is also grounded in the desire of the first Christians to counteract the rejection of Christ by those who crucified him with the consistency of their own lives, lived in penitence, faith and obedience. Nevertheless, we cannot help but notice a difference of atmosphere and a shift of emphasis in St Francis compared with the New Testament. We may contrast, for example, the way in which St Luke speaks of Christ discouraging the women of Jerusalem from indulging their compassion for his sufferings (Luke 23, 27-28), and the way in which the author of the *Fioretti* understands compassion for the sufferings of Christ to be the principal means by which those sufferings were reproduced in the soul of the saint. After telling how Francis pondered on the rocky, cavernous formation of Mount Alvernia and compared it in his mind with the earthquake which accompanied the Crucifixion, our author states: 'And it was the will of God that this should more particularly take place in this mountain of Alvernia because the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ should there be renewed in the soul of St Francis by loving compassion, and in his body by the sacred stigmas.'¹

In view of this difference of approach we should do well to try and see to what extent the conception of St Francis is representative of Christian thought and piety in the later Middle Ages; and also to attempt to account for the shift of emphasis which has emerged in the time between the New Testament period and the two hundred years or so preceding the Reformation.

One of the greatest of the disciples of St Francis of Assisi was Ramon Lull (1232-1314), who was born in Majorca some six years after the death of the saint. Lull was brought up as a page at the court of King James I of Catalonia-Aragon and as he grew up into manhood he showed many signs of becoming a dissolute courtier, the outward circumstances of his early life having much in common with those of his great predecessor amidst the wealth and extravagance of a successful cloth-merchant's home in Assisi. As St Francis was converted in the flower of his youth when the crucifix in the Church of St Damian spoke to him, Ramon Lull, while still a young man, was converted, as he was composing some amorous verses, by the sudden sight of Jesus hanging on the Cross. 'It was Thy Passion, O Lord,' he says himself,² 'that aroused and awakened Thy servant when he was dead in mortal sins.' The vision of the Crucified came to him five times before 'the pricking of his conscience told him that he should wholly

¹ *The Little Flowers of Saint Francis of Assisi*, the trs. of the Franciscans of Upton revised by Mr Thomas Okey, 1926, p. 176; cf. same title in 'A Treasury of Christian Books', 1956, p. III.

² *A Life of Ramon Lull* (written about 1311), ed. E. A. Peers, 1927, p. 2.

abandon the world and devote himself to his service.¹ His perception of the meaning of the Passion led him to a single-minded and lifelong devotion to Christ and transformed him into 'that rare combination, the efficient active and the inspired contemplative—the scholar, the man of affairs and the servant of God.'²

Versatile as were his gifts and diverse as were his writings and activities, the unity of his personality and of his life is mirrored in his great book, *The Book of the Lover and the Beloved*. In it 'the Beloved is represented as the Lord Jesus Christ, considered as the Redeemer and the Sacrifice for our sin and the supreme Object of our love,'³ and the Lover is represented as the individual soul making its response to the outpoured love and offended majesty of God with all the soul-searing penitence and passionate devotion of Lull's own ardent spirit. Indeed, we may well find in *The Book of the Lover and the Beloved* a penetrating exposition of the meaning of Reparation as a creative and all-embracing Christian activity.

The Lover's sorrow for sin and compassion for the sufferings of the Beloved issue in a life of identification with the life of the Beloved in its pattern of renunciation and suffering and of rejection by the world. One of the most dominant themes in the *Book of the Lover and the Beloved* is the thought that the renunciations and sufferings of the Lover are offered to the Beloved in order that they may at least offset the insults of the majority of men who neglect or reject him. Lull imagines the following dialogue between the scoffing world and the Lover:

'Foolish Lover! Why dost thou weary thy body, cast away thy wealth, leave the joys of this world, and go about as an outcast among the people?'

'To do honour to the honours of my Beloved,' he replied, 'for He is neglected and dishonoured by more men than honour and love him.'⁴

In order that he may perhaps compensate for 'the Beloved's defect of those who will love him',⁵ the Lover counts it all joy to accept suffering and pain as the response of love accepted to love rejected. To quote again the imaginary dialogue:

They asked the Lover: 'Wherein is all thy wealth?' He answered: 'In the poverty which I bear my Beloved.' 'And where is thy repose?' 'In the grief caused me by love.' 'Who is thy physician?' 'The trust that I have in my Beloved.' 'And who is thy master?' 'The signs which in all creatures I see of my Beloved.'⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

² E. A. Peers, *The Book of the Lover and the Beloved*, 1945 ed., Introduction p. 1.

³ E. A. Peers, *Fool of Love*, 1946, p. 49.

⁴ *The Lover and the Beloved*, p. 21, no. 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56, no. 21. ⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 29, no. 57; p. 28, no. 52; p. 31, no. 72.

It is significant that the *Book of the Lover and the Beloved* was the fruit of the contemplation of a man who was not only a mystic but also a missionary. He sent it out to be the vade-mecum not only of hermits but also of the world he longed to save.

Some ten years or so after Ramon Lull wrote his great book there was born in England one of the greatest of the early English contemplatives, Richard Rolle of Hampole (1290–1349). Having found a great similarity of thought and feeling between St Francis of Assisi and Ramon Lull, we must now enquire whether the same similarity of outlook can be seen in the life and writings of Richard Rolle.

Because of his hostility to the disputations of scholasticism, Rolle left Oxford for the life of a wandering hermit until finally he passed the last years of his life in a cell near the Cistercian Priory of Hampole or Hanepole, near Doncaster, where he died in 1349. Among the influences that moulded his thought and his piety it would be difficult to prove that he was directly influenced by any particular school of mysticism or by one particular person, whether St Francis or Ramon Lull. Yet it is the same fire of divine love that consumed him and that shines through his writings, especially the *Incendium Amoris* in which he extols the hermit life because in that life the solitary finds 'him whom he loves with a rapture and a completeness which no other life affords'.¹

The fire of love is kindled in the soul of the disciple by a consideration of the Passion of the Saviour such as we might expect to find in the meditations of St Francis or Ramon Lull. Following the tradition of patristic writers who in their turn took over from the Rabbis the allegorical method of interpreting the Song of Songs, Richard Rolle finds in the invitation to the daughters of Zion to behold King Solomon crowned with the crown which he had worn on the day of his espousals an appeal to look upon Christ suffering for the salvation of the world:

Look upon him and you shall see his divine Head crowned with thorns, his face bespattered, his most lovely eyes wan with pain, his back scourged, his bare breast bloodstained, his venerable hands pierced, his most sweet side wounded with a spear, his feet nailed through, and all his tender flesh transfixted with wounds, as it is written: '... from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head there is no health in him' (Isa. 1.6). Go forth therefore from your unlawful and lustful desires and see what Christ has suffered for you, that your sins may be utterly cast out and your hearts may learn to burn in the fire of love.²

¹ *The Incendium Amoris*, ed. M. Deanesly, Manchester, 1915, p. 42.

² G. C. Heseltine, *The Fire of Love: being a translation of the Incendium Amoris*, 1935, p. 113.

As with St Francis and Ramon Lull, the consideration of Christ's Passion awakes in the soul a sorrow for sin and a willingness to endure suffering. There is the same desire to offer to God a life of loving penitence but we seem to be moving in a different atmosphere. Both in the *Incendium Amoris* and in the *Emendatio Vitae* great stress is laid on the notions of merit and reward, notions which are not absent from our earlier writers but which do not seem to dominate their theology in the way that they dominate that of Rolle. In the spirituality of all three writers, however, a large emphasis in their understanding of the offering of loving penitence is laid on the doing of penance and the rendering of satisfaction. It is axiomatic to the thought of Richard Rolle that 'sin is never forgiven before it is forsaken, nor even then unless satisfaction is promised and the sinner arranges to fulfil what is promised as soon as he can.'¹ Of the relation of the conceptions of penance and satisfaction to a fruitful and acceptable doctrine of Reparation more will be said in later chapters.

A discussion of the formative influences in the Christian thought of the later Middle Ages cannot pass without mention of the anonymous author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, who appears to have lived the life of a contemplative in England in the middle of the fourteenth century.

In *The Cloud* there is the same highly individualistic approach to the Christian life and the author takes careful pains to warn his readers against reading what he has written out of any spirit of curiosity and without seriousness and singleness of purpose. As with the other masters of the spiritual life whom we have discussed, the foundation and the mainspring of the Christian life is love. In words which are reminiscent of the *De Diligendo* of St Bernard the author of *The Cloud* summarises the meaning of charity: 'For charity meaneth naught else but love of God for himself above all creatures, and of men for God even as thyself.'² Commenting on our Lord's dealing with 'the woman which was . . . a sinner' the author of *The Cloud* suggests that it was the woman's love for our Lord even more than her contrition that commended her to him: 'For our Lord said to Mary (Luke 7.47) in person of all sinners that he called to contemplative life: Thy sins be forgiven thee. Not for her great sorrow, nor for her thought of her sins, nor yet for her meekness that she had in the beholding of her wretchedness only. But why then? Surely because she loved much.'³

There is, however, no doubt that the author of *The Cloud* saw the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

² *The Cloud of Unknowing, and other treatises* (Orchard Books 4), with commentary by Fr A. Baker, ed. Justin McCann, 1924, p. 64.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

ground of the sinner's forgiveness not in the sinner's contrition or devotion, however necessary these both may be to make forgiveness effective, but in the Passion of Christ: 'For all they that will leave sin and ask mercy shall be saved through the virtue of his passion.'¹ In *The Cloud* there is not the same devotion paid to the suffering humanity of Christ nor the same emphasis on the physical details of the Passion as we have observed in other writers. There is the same need in the living of the Christian life for identification with Christ himself. The perfect disciple must be crucified in spirit as his Lord was bodily on the cross. The emphasis in *The Cloud* does not turn so much on the acceptance of physical suffering as on the total oblation of a life lived in the spirit of Christ. Even the contemplative may not think of his high vocation as a matter which concerns the individual soul and God only. He must offer his life that by its influence souls may be won for God and redeemed by him through Christ. Both in the lack of stress on the physical sufferings of Christ and in the emphasis on the responsibility of the individual Christian towards others within and without the Church we can perhaps detect a return to a more Pauline conception of the Christian life, especially as the author of *The Cloud* sets this part of his thought in the context of what was lost in Adam and restored in Christ.

For as all men were lost in Adam, and all men . . . are saved and shall be by virtue of the passion of only Christ, even so . . . a soul that it perfectly disposed to this work,² and thus one with God in spirit, doth what in it is to make all men as perfect in this work as itself is. For right as if a limb of body feeleth sore, all the other limbs be pained and distressed, or if a limb fare well, all the remainder be gladdened therewith—right so it is ghostly with all the limbs of Holy Church. For Christ is our head and we be the limbs, if we be in charity; and whoso will be a perfect disciple of our Lord's, he must strain up his spirit in this ghostly work, for the salvation of all his brethren and sisters in nature, as our Lord did his body on the Cross. And how? Not only for his friends and his kin and his dear lovers, but generally for all mankind, without any special regard more to one than to another.³

The activity of contemplation may therefore be thought of as an important aspect of the work of Reparation in so far as Reparation is seen to include all the activities or spheres of Christian life whereby Christians, individually or corporately, participate in the redemptive purpose of

¹ *The Cloud*, ch. 25, *op. cit.*, p. 71. Cf. *The Epistle of Privy Counsel*: ' . . . he shall be saved by the virtue of the passion of only Christ . . .' (*op. cit.*, p. 191).

² I.e. of contemplation.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

God, being used by him to further the salvation of others. Of the relation of prayer to Reparation more will be said in Chapter Eight.

That contemplation is no esoteric practice reserved for the mystic but rather the simple communion of love was the conviction of that older contemporary of Mother Julian, Walter Hilton.¹ He came especially under the influence of Rolle and *The Cloud* but 'through his more simple, homely and objective teaching upon the spiritual life, many of the doctrines of these great writers were diffused among the rank and file of devout Christians.'²

There is one passage in particular in the *Scale of Perfection* which speaks of how the soul by contemplating the Passion of Christ is moved to compassion for Christ's sufferings, to astonishment at the depths of his love and to a deepened sense of the mystery of Christ's manhood:

... and suddenly thy thought is drawn out from all worldly and fleshly things and thee thinkest as thou saw in thy soul thy Lord Jhesu in a bodily likeness, as He was in earth, ... and thou in this ghostly sight feelest thine heart stirred to so great compassion and pity of thy Lord Jhesu that thou mournest, and weepest ... wondering the goodness and love, meekness and patience of thy Jhesu ... an opening of thy ghostly eye into Christ's manhood.³

It may well be that it was the opening of the ghostly eye of the Church into the mystery of Christ's manhood and an increasing devotion to his Sacred Humanity which were chiefly responsible for the shift of emphasis in the theological approach to the Passion which we have observed between the New Testament and the late medieval period. Before we investigate the truth of this assertion we must mention the writings of Julian of Norwich.

Probably the best-known saying of the Lady Julian is one which occurs frequently throughout the *Revelations of Divine Love* and which, like a similar saying of St Paul's about all things working together for good, has often been wrested from its context and consequently misunderstood: 'But all shall be well, and all shall be well, and all manner of thing shall be well.'⁴ Here is no easy-going optimism nor any minimising of the deadliness of sin. The above quotation is taken from a chapter which deals especially with sin and pain. Throughout the *Revelations* there is emphasis on the dreadfulness of sin and the sorrow for it that should be an essential and continuous element in the Christian life: 'And thus we have, now,

¹ d. 1396.

² Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection*, ed. E. Underhill, 1923, Introduction, vi.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 79 f.

⁴ *Revelations of Divine Love*, ch. xxvii (ed. G. Warrack, 6th ed., 1917), pp. 56 f. *et passim.*

matter of mourning; for our sin is the cause of Christ's pains.¹ The ground of the author's confidence that all shall be well is that Christ has delivered us by his Passion from the thraldom of sin and, so she perceived in one of her visions, from the stigma of its guilt:

For I knew by the common teaching of Holy Church and by mine own feeling, that the blame of our sin continually hangeth upon us, from the first man unto the time that we come up unto heaven: then was this my marvel that I saw our Lord shewing to us no more blame than if we were as clean and as holy as Angels be in heaven. . . . And then I saw that only Pain blameth and punisheth, and our courteous Lord comforteth and sorroweth; and ever he is to the soul in glad cheer, loving and longing to bring us to his bliss. . . . And therefore the creature that seeth and feeleth the working of love by grace, hateth naught but sin.²

The incorporation of the Christian into Christ at his Baptism is a living and intense reality, the goal as well as the starting-point of the Christian life. At every point of experience the Christian is to be so 'oned' to Christ that he participates in his redemptive activity. Such a conception we have seen to be essential and fundamental to a right understanding of Reparation as a Christian activity. Against this background of thought Mother Julian opens out for us the meaning of true Christian compassion.

Many, and not only in his own day, have wondered at the words which Simeon spoke to the Lord's Mother on the occasion of the Presentation in the Temple: 'Yea and a sword shall pierce through thine own soul' (Luke 2.35). Mother Julian saw the measure of identification between Christ and the souls united to him by love to be so great that compassion is mutual and passes beyond the reach of mere pity. The souls who love Christ most, pre-eminently his Blessed Mother, enter into the reality of his sufferings as he enters into theirs. In the *Revelations* it is expressed thus:

Here I saw a part of the compassion of Our Lady, Saint Mary: for Christ and she were so oned in love that the greatness of her loving was cause of the greatness of her pain. . . . Here I saw a great oneing betwixt Christ and us, to mine understanding: for when he was in pain, we were in pain. . . . And for every man's sin that shall be saved he suffered: and every man's sorrow and desolation he saw, and sorrowed for kindness and love. . . . For as long as He was passible he suffered for us and sorrowed for us; and now he is uprisen and no more passible, yet he suffereth with us.³

¹ *Op. cit.*, ch. LII, p. 124. ² *Op. cit.*, ch. I, p. 106; ch. LI, p. 112; ch. LII, p. 124.

³ *Op. cit.*, ch. XVIII, p. 40; ch. XX, p. 44.

This identity of life shared by Christ and those who love him issues in the desire, ever-present in the aspirations of Mother Julian and of those great Christians whom we have already considered, to do penance for sin because Christ suffered on account of sin. True compassion of the kind we have delineated also issues in a thirst for the salvation of the souls for whom Christ died. To be one with Christ is to be one with his thirst for the salvation of the world and to share in that is to share in his work of Reparation, bringing nearer the day of the restoration of all things. Of the spiritual thirst of Christ Mother Julian said,

. . . thou shalt see thyself that all manner of thing shall be well . . . where he saith . . . 'Thou shalt see thyself' I understand the oneing of all mankind that shall be saved unto the blessed Trinity. . . . Thus shall the Spiritual Thirst of Christ have an end. For this is the spiritual thirst of Christ: the love-longing that lasteth, and ever shall, till we see that sight on Doomsday. For we that shall be saved and that shall be Christ's joy and his bliss, some be yet here and some be to come, and so shall some be, unto that day. Therefore this is his Thirst and love-longing, to have us altogether whole in him, to his bliss—as to my sight. For we be not now as fully whole in him as we shall be then.¹

Indeed, we could perhaps have no better statement than this of the end and purpose of the reparative activity of Christ into which is incorporated the Church which is his Body.

It may be that on reflection we do not find the thought of the later Middle Ages, as it is expressed in the lives and writings of those men and women we have been considering, so far removed from the thought of the New Testament as we first supposed. At this point, however, we must pause and attempt to assess the reasons for the shift of emphasis which we have already observed. Earlier on in this chapter it has been suggested that the change in the theological presuppositions is due to a greater devotion to the Sacred Humanity of our Lord than was common in the earliest ages of the Church. We must now make some investigation of this matter, and I believe considerable light may be thrown on it by recalling the stages by which the crucifix came to be a commonplace of Christian life and worship.

To those millions of Catholic Christians (Roman, Anglican and Orthodox) to whom the crucifix is as beloved as it is familiar as the symbol of their Faith, it comes with something of a shock to realize that at least for the first six centuries of Christianity the crucifix had no universal place in the art or piety of the Church. We have already mentioned the place which the Veneration of the Cross holds in the Liturgy of Good Friday.

¹ *Op. cit.*, ch. xxx, pp. 62-3.

Suffice it now to notice that the cross, and still more the crucifix, was not an object of veneration but the symbol of shame and derision, the most notorious example probably being that of the Palatine crucifix engraved on graphite with the head of an ass.¹ If the *fidelis* of the inscription may be taken as a synonym of *christianus* the drawing represents the Christian, Alexamenis, worshipping a God with an ass's head raised on a cross.

During the first centuries of the Christian era the scandal of the Cross was a very real one to believers as well as to unbelievers. For the Jew, death by crucifixion carried the curse of God (cf. Deut. 21.22-23); for the Roman it was the symbol of crime and punishment. This hideous method of punishing criminals continued to be practised until the first half of the fourth century. It was against a very real feeling of disgust and against a background of contempt that the Cross came to be thought of as the supreme symbol of the power of God, and that the Cross and the Crucified came to evoke feelings of compassion, respect and devotion.

Before the time of Constantine the representation of the Cross or the crucifix in Christian art and devotion appears to have been comparatively rare. The Edict of Milan, the abolition of crucifixion as a form of punishment, and the journey of the Empress Helena to the Holy Places and the finding of the wood of the Saviour's Cross were all factors which influenced the beliefs and the aesthetic sensitivity of Christians with regard to the crucifix. It was only slowly that the early repugnance against representing the Crucifixion was overcome. In the fourth and fifth centuries it was the fashion in the Christian art of the West to combine the Crucifixion and the Resurrection in the same symbolical scene, an instinct which, it seems to me, retained the main conception of the New Testament. For in the New Testament we are seldom left to contemplate the Cross except in the light of the Resurrection.

There are two ivory carvings in the British Museum, dating from early in the fifth century, which portray Christ carrying his Cross and Christ stretched out on the Cross. From the beginning of the sixth century a cross, and perhaps a crucifix, was to be seen on the altar in churches and monasteries in Syria. It is generally thought that it was Eastern artists and Syrian monks who introduced the subject of the Crucifixion into the religious art and piety of the West.

We may well ask for an explanation of why the crucifix found its place in the Christianity of the East before it did in the West. The explanation may very well be found in the theological controversies that were absorbing the attention of Eastern Christians at this time. It may well have been

¹ Date uncertain. Perhaps the beginning of the third century.

that the introduction of the crucifix in the place of the garlanded cross into Christian art was part of the reaction against the monophysite tendencies which threatened the Christianity of Egypt and Syria at this period. To represent in concrete form the details of the Crucifixion with all its reality is a symbolical method of affirming the essential truth of orthodox Christianity, namely that Christ really and actually suffered for the salvation of mankind in his incarnate human nature.

Nevertheless, in the West, considerable prejudice persisted against the crucifix until past the beginning of the eighth century. There were, for example, iconoclasts like Serenus, the bishop of Marseilles, who regarded the crucifix as a parody of the death of Christ, and who charged those who venerated it with denying the Resurrection and with thinking of Christ only in the circumstances of his Passion. By the beginning of the eighth century, however, the crucifix had taken a definite place in the art and piety of the West as well as of the East, a place which it was to hold firmly and universally until the Reformation, and, amongst Catholic Christians, until the present day.

Not only the history of the crucifix but also the general development of Christian art helps to make clear the extent to which devotion to the Sacred Humanity of Christ, and more especially the contemplation of his Passion, had become characteristic, not only of the masters of the spiritual life and the authors of mystical theology, but of the rank and file of Christians by the end of the Middle Ages. The death of Christ is viewed primarily not as a dogma addressed to the intelligence but as a moving spectacle speaking to the heart. In his great book, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*,¹ M. Mâle has pointed out what a great number of works of art of all sorts—paintings, sculptures, carvings, stained glass windows—depict the sufferings of Christ. Everywhere one is aware of the same desire that we have noted in the mystical writings of the late Middle Ages to be associated with the Passion of Christ. An outstanding example is that of the fifteenth century fresco in the church at Chauvigny in Poitou. Christ is represented carrying his Cross and the whole Church—popes, cardinals, priests, layfolk—is represented as coming to his help. Pictures illustrating the Lord's suffering frequently decorate the Hour-books of the period. The Liturgy itself is looked upon more and more as a commemoration of the Sacrifice of Calvary and other aspects of the Eucharistic offering receive less emphasis.

M. Mâle enquires who has thus stricken the heart of the Church and contends that the question has neither been posed nor answered, and that

¹ Paris, 1931.

histories do not appear to have noticed this overflowing of emotion. It is to this question, however, that we have addressed ourselves in this chapter and we find ourselves in agreement with the judgement of M. Mâle that St Francis of Assisi is 'the source whence so much pity has flowed out on the world'.¹

It has been the purpose of this chapter to try and elucidate the meaning of Reparation as the work of love. In its widest context we have seen that work of Reparation to be the response of love and obedience to God in place of hatred, indifference and rejection. Characteristic elements in the acknowledgement that the claim of God is the claim of love and that the response of his children, corporately and individually, is the response of love, are sorrow for sin, compassion for the sufferings of Christ, and identification with the Passion of Christ for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

Although we have confined our post-biblical illustrations of the meaning of Reparation as a work of love mainly to the Middle Ages, the same principles hold good for the Christian in every age and circumstance. Unfortunately, however, it is often true that, as the author of the *Imitation* observed so long ago, 'Many follow Jesus as far as the breaking of bread, but few to the drinking of the cup of his Passion.'²

In any age the soul that would find Love, true Love, must come to Calvary and enter the darkness of the Passion. Love's meeting-place is hid within the living darkness, dark night that hides from this world's passing day the splendour of the everlasting light of love. He who will not deny himself nor mortify his will and inclinations, but would seek the treasure of Love at ease and without cost, will never find; and if such as he should stand on Calvary it will not be with the lovers that he will find his place, but with the curious, the idle watchers and the foes.³

In these words (although he does not use the term), a contemporary writer expresses what I understand to be the essence of Reparation.

To follow Christ to the drinking of the cup of his Passion is to participate with him in his work of restoration and redemption. The main-spring and foundation of the work of Reparation is love; its goal and its end is no less than the slaking of the divine thirst for the salvation of souls. In the following chapter we shall seek to elucidate the implications for the Church of her vocation to be one with him who said, 'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself' (John 12.32).

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 87. Translation mine.

² *Imitation of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. xi, p. 1.

³ Gilbert Shaw, *A Pilgrim's Book of Prayers*, 1945, p. 97.

4

Reparation as Restoration

IN THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING and use of the word 'reparation' there is implied, as we have seen, the restoration of something damaged to its original state. Reparation is essentially a process or a work of repairing, restoring, healing. It will be the argument of this chapter to suggest that the idea of restoration is an essential and significant element in the meaning of Reparation as a theological concept and as an activity of the Christian life.

It is the main contention of this investigation that a fruitful and balanced understanding of the Christian meaning of Reparation must spring from and depend upon the fundamental doctrines of the love of God, the Redemption wrought by Christ, and the Church as the Body of Christ. This is no less true of the aspect of Reparation considered as restoration than it is of the doctrine of Reparation as a whole. Because the significance as well as the very existence of Reparation as a Christian activity is grounded in the Reparation made by Christ himself, it is of the first importance to determine in what sense the redemptive activity of Christ himself may be thought of as the work of restoration.

In the Order of the Mass of the Western Rite, as he puts the water to be mixed with the wine into the chalice at the Offertory, the priest recites the following prayer:

God, who didst wonderfully create, and yet more wonderfully renew the dignity of man's nature: grant that by the mystery of this water and wine we may be made partakers of his divinity, who vouchsafed to share our humanity, Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord. . . .

We may see in this prayer a summary of a very important part of Christ's work of restoration and of the relation of the Church as a whole to that work. We need next to observe how, in its conception of the redemptive action of Christ as the restoration of the dignity of human nature, the Liturgy reiterates an essential truth in the meaning of the Atonement, a

truth which goes back in origin to patristic thought and behind that to the thought of the New Testament, especially to that of St Paul.

In the Epistle to the Colossians, St Paul exhorts the Christians at Colossae to live up to a higher and more self-controlled moral standard and he bases his exhortation on the grounds that as Christians they 'have put off the old man with his doings, and have put on the new man, which is being renewed unto knowledge after the image of him that created him' (Col. 3.9b, 10). The last phrase of this quotation calls to mind the declaration of the book of Genesis, namely that 'God created man in his own image' (Gen. 1.27).

It is a commonplace of contemporary thought to observe that for many people modern biological theories of evolution, the calculations and demonstrations of physical science, and the findings and problems introduced into the understanding of the Bible by the use of critical methods of scholarship have not only undermined their confidence in the authority and trustworthiness of the biblical records but have also obscured their meaning. The early narratives of the Book of Genesis frequently present the greatest difficulties. The objections and difficulties need not detain us in detail, but there are several observations which it seems necessary to make. In the first place, behind the almost anthropomorphic narratives in the first three chapters of Genesis we can discern some of the most important and fundamental truths of the Christian Faith. In the second place, a good deal of the theology of New Testament writers is based on the acceptance of the religious ideas of the Old Testament. In the third place, any enunciation or elucidation of Christian doctrine which seeks to find acceptance by the contemporary Christian mind or conscience must be able to appeal to the authority of Holy Scripture as well as to tradition and to Christian writings outside the Bible.

With these observations in mind, we must investigate further what is meant by man being made in the image of God, for it is a conception essential to our understanding of Reparation as restoration. The statement from Genesis which we have quoted continues '... And God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good' (Gen. 1.31). Whatever may be the textual variations and other differences between the two Creation narratives in the first two chapters of Genesis, the theological point of view may be said to be the same. Both accounts give pictorial expression to the truths that God is good; God was responsible for the creation of the universe; the purposes of God are wholly good, including his purpose for mankind, which differs from all other orders of creation in that men are created 'in the image of God', possessing the power

to respond to the love of God by offering to him the free and loving homage of their worship. The same theological point of view is either implicit or explicit throughout Holy Scripture, in the last book of the Canon as well as the first, for in the Apocalypse all creation is caught up into the worship of heaven (Rev. 4.11).

The story of the Fall of man which is pictorially represented in the third chapter of Genesis reminds us that the image of God in man has been defaced and marred by human sin. The ancient myth recounts how Adam and Eve, after they had given way to temptation, 'heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and the man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God amongst the trees of the garden' (Gen. 3.8). The voice of the Lord, which had hitherto brought them happiness and delight, was now the occasion of their shame and self-consciousness. Sin by its very nature separates the soul from God and destroys the harmony with God which it was intended to possess. The old story in Genesis illustrates that evil has infected human nature and that sin is the hard core of the problem of evil. The rest of the Old Testament makes patent the fact that the human dilemma is that of the dignity of man's nature on the one hand, and the wretchedness of sin on the other. For, as Irenaeus perceived,¹ the image of God in man was not wholly annihilated. Adam and Eve could still hear 'the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day'.

The New Testament, especially the writings of St Paul, makes clear that the Redemption wrought by Christ involved the restoration of the image of God in man. In the preceding chapter we have seen that Christ's work of Reparation is grounded in his love, and that our Christian apprehension of its springs from a devotion to his Sacred Humanity. We come now to see that Christ's work of Reparation, namely the restoration of the divine image in man, is the result of the Incarnation.

Reference has already been made to the fact that St Paul appealed to the Colossian Christians on the grounds that in them the divine image had already been restored. On other occasions also St Paul explicitly stated that what had been lost through Adam's transgression had been restored by Christ.

Nevertheless death reigned from Adam until Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the likeness of Adam's transgression, who is a figure of him that was to come. . . . For if, by the trespass of the one, death reigned through the one; much more shall they that receive the abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness, reign in life through the one, even Jesus Christ (Rom. 5.14, 17).

¹ *Adv. Haer.*, v, 1, 3.

Or again: 'For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive' (I Cor. 15.22).

Though the Synoptists and the Fourth Evangelist do not bring the work of Christ into direct juxtaposition with the undoing of Adam, they all associate our Lord's coming into the world with the sin of man consequent upon the Fall (cf. e.g. Matt. 1.21; Luke 1.31; John 3.16–19). On the basis of the biblical evidence, the great majority of Christian writers have found an inseparable connection between the Incarnation and the Atonement. In this study we cannot trace in detail the historical development of theological thought concerning the relation between the Incarnation and the Fall of man. The idea that the Incarnation was not dependent on the Fall of man was one which does not appear to have been discussed in the first ages of the Church. Patristic writers were much more concerned to work out just what had been lost to the human race through Adam's sin and restored through Christ's redemptive action, as St Paul had declared. In this connection we must particularly take account of the writings of St Irenaeus and St Athanasius.

In his defence of Christianity against the Gnostic and Marcionite heresies of the second century Irenaeus made use of what we may call the 'Christus Victor' theory of the Atonement. According to this view the Humanity of the Incarnate Lord is considered as the very element in and through which Christ won his vicarious victory over evil in all its forms and achieved thereby our redemption. In Irenaeus the significance of the victory of the Incarnate Lord finds expression in his doctrine of *anaphaleiosis* or *recapitulatio* or 'recapitulation in Christ'—a term which Turner suggests can be reasonably rendered by 'restoration by repetition.'¹

The doctrine of 'recapitulation' in the writings of Irenaeus asserts a very close relation between Creation and Redemption in that a unity of mind and purpose underlies them both. It is the Word in his Humanity who is the subject of the 'recapitulation' whereby he restores to the human race what had been lost in Adam.² Christ embodied in himself the long course of human history as purposed by God in his original creation so that as a result of his 'recapitulation' he might restore to mankind that quality of life in which the devil was overthrown,³ sin was vanquished and death destroyed.⁴

An essential part of the *recapitulatio* doctrine of Irenaeus is that the victory of Christ involved every stage of his human life and that he

¹ H. E. W. Turner, *The Patristic Doctrine of Redemption*, 1952, p. 62.

² *Adv. Haer.*, III, xviii, 1. ³ Cf. *Adv. Haer.*, V, 1, 1. ⁴ *Adv. Haer.*, III, xviii.

identified his vicarious victory with all the experiences of humanity, sin only excepted:

For as he became man in order to undergo temptation, so also was he the Word that he might be glorified; the Word remaining quiescent, that he might be capable of being tempted, dishonoured, crucified and of suffering death, but the human nature being swallowed up in it (the divine) when it conquered, and endured (without yielding), and performed acts of kindness, and rose again, and was received up into heaven. He, therefore, the Son of God, our Lord, . . . was made the Son of Man. Wherefore the Lord himself gave us a sign, in the depth below, and in the height above, which man did not ask for, because he never expected that a virgin could conceive . . . and that he who was thus born should be 'God with us', and descend to those things which are of the earth beneath, seeking the sheep which had perished, which was indeed his own peculiar handiwork, and ascend to the height above, offering and commanding to his Father that human nature which had been found, making in his own person the first-fruits of the resurrection of man. . . .¹

As Eve held an important place in the ancient myth which describes the Fall, so Mary held a correspondingly important place in the thought of Irenaeus. 'The wheel has come full circle and the path which Eve trod in one way Mary retraced in the opposite direction.'² By a reversal of behaviour Mary replaced the curse of Eve by a blessing.

A good deal had happened in the century and a half or so after Irenaeus to change the climate of opinion and the conditions of living the Christian life by the time Athanasius was writing to defend Christian orthodoxy '*contra mundum*'. We come now to see how the idea of salvation by restoration still played a dominant part in his thought.

We may well regard the *De Incarnatione Verbi Dei* of St Athanasius as a study in the meaning of the Atonement just as much as in the meaning of the Incarnation, for there is seen to be throughout this work an inherent connection between the Redeemer and his Creation which he came to redeem. In the thought of St Athanasius it is the incorruptible *Logos* who restores to mankind what was lost through the sin of Adam. He thinks of the redemptive work of Christ as a personal act of rescue on the part of the divine *Logos* made flesh in the Person of Jesus Christ. The thought of Athanasius thus clearly belongs to the vicarious victory tradition, although in working out the implications of Christ's victory the emphasis often falls on a different aspect of the restoration wrought by Christ from that which we have observed in the thought of Irenaeus. It

¹ *Adv. Haer.*, III, xix, 3 (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. 5, 1868, p. 346).

² H. E. W. Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

would appear that the difference of emphasis arises from a certain modification of the stress laid by writers like Irenaeus on the significance of the Humanity of Christ in his vicarious victory, to the effect that 'only if the Mighty Victor were the Logos of God could redemption be transmitted to all mankind.'¹

In the first chapter of the *De Incarnatione Verbi*, St Athanasius links together the work of Christ in creation and redemption in a number of plain statements which indicate that in his view the salvation of men was the purpose of, and the reason for, the Incarnation of the Word made flesh, a conception which underlies and dominates the whole of the treatise:

You must understand why it is that the Word of the Father, so great and so high, has been made manifest in bodily form. He has not assumed a body as proper to his own nature, far from it, for as the Word he is without body. He has been manifested in a human body for this reason only, out of the love and goodness of his Father, for the salvation of us men. We will begin, then, with the creation of the world and with God its Maker, for the first fact you must grasp is this: the renewal of creation has been wrought by the self-same Word who made it in the beginning. There is thus no inconsistency between creation and salvation; for the one Father has employed the same Agent for both works, effecting the salvation of the world through the same Word who made it at the first.²

Like St Paul and like earlier patristic writers, St Athanasius based a good deal of his theology of redemption on the doctrine of the Fall. As a result of the Fall, the image of God in man had been defaced by sin and corruption. The impress of the divine image upon men gave them a share in the being of the Word himself, so that they might continue for ever in the life of paradise without sorrow, pain or care, and with the assurance of immortality. When men misused the freedom of will which God had given them they threw away their birthright of beauty and came under, henceforth, the natural law of death and corruption. Commenting on the words of Gen. 2.16 f., '... ye shall surely die,' St Athanasius adds: 'not just die only but remain in the state of death and corruption.'³

Man of himself, as the experience and writings of the Old Testament universally testify, was powerless to repair the damage done by Adam's sin, to restore human nature to its original incorruption, to heal the breach between God and man caused through human sin. Repentance,

¹ Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

² *The Incarnation of the Word of God, being the treatise of St Athanasius De Incarnatione Verbi Dei*, trans. by a Religious of CSMV, 1944, ch. 1, p. 26.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

though necessary, was not sufficient to meet the case, for as the *De Incarnatione* explains,¹ repentance from man's side was incapable of guarding the consistency of the divine character once man was subject to the law of physical death, and incapable of restoring incorruption to corrupted and corruptible human nature.

Only he, who was one with God and one with man in all but sin, could make that reparation to God on behalf of man which the love of God called forth and the dilemma of man required.

Central in St Athanasius's theology of the Atonement is the importance and the significance of the death of Christ. Here again we see the inseparable connection in his thinking between Creation and Redemption, between the Incarnation and the Atonement, between the Person and the Work of Christ. Christ not only sanctified the body by taking to himself of the Virgin Mary a human body; he used his human body as the instrument through which he abolished for mankind the law of death and the power of corruption which goes with it.² The restoration which Christ effected by means of his life, Death, Resurrection and Ascension was a restoration, a renewal, a reparation, achieved only at the cost of tremendous self-sacrifice, the Sacrifice unto death of the sinless Son of God on man's behalf.³

The importance and the significance of the Resurrection of Christ in the thought of St Athanasius can hardly be over-estimated. By the sacrifice of his body, Christ not only destroyed the power of death to harm us; he made a new beginning of life for us, by giving us the hope of resurrection.⁴ In the theology of St Athanasius, as in the apostolic preaching as it is recorded in the New Testament, the Death of Christ is never considered in isolation. Indeed, it is only in the light of the Resurrection that the Passion and Death of Christ can be seen in their true focus.⁵

One of the great contributions of St Athanasius, then, to Christian thought is his contribution to a rich and positive theology of the Atonement. To use a phrase of Turner's, it was his distinctive characteristic to regard Christ as the 'Giver of Incorruption and Deification'.⁶ By this is meant,⁷ as we have seen, the reparation of the damage caused by the sin of Adam, through the restoration of the divine image in man by the God-Man, Jesus Christ. Moreover, Christ's work of restoring the dignity of human nature is not only directed towards humanity in a corporate and

¹ Ch. 7, *passim*.

² *Ibid.*, esp. ch. 8.

³ *Ibid.*, ch. 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ch. 10 and chs. 19-32.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, ch. 4, pp. 70 f.

⁷ I.e. in the case of Athanasius.

collective sense, but includes the activity of reaching out to save individual and separate souls.¹

Thus the *De Incarnatione* underlines the essential truth that our Redemption depends not merely upon the dying Christ, but upon the 'Total Christ', living, dying, rising and ascending for us. The redemptive action of Christ includes his work of restoration, which is a work of reparation. Not only as a theological concept but also as an activity of the Christian life, Reparation in terms of restoration must be grounded in the Reparation made by Christ himself, for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Before we consider how the Church, which is his Body, is caught up into the reparative activity of Christ himself and how Christians by virtue of their membership of the Church are called to participate in the redemptive and restorative activity of Christ himself, some comment on the term 'deification' or 'divinisation' is called for.

Many types of religious thought have envisaged the goal of religious experience as being the acquisition by man of divine attributes, and salvation is thought of as the exemption of man from the doom of death. Christianity came into existence at a time when such ideas were widely diffused and when the apotheosis of the emperors was an important characteristic of the religion of the Roman Empire. The Christian doctrine has its background not in the pagan polytheism of the first century or so of our era but in the New Testament, where, for example, the First Epistle to Timothy describes God as he 'who alone hath immortality' (6.16), and the Second Epistle of Peter sets before Christians the hope that 'ye may become partakers of the divine nature, having escaped from the corruption that is in the world by lust' (II Peter 1.4).

It has been pointed out that amongst patristic writers, and even within the works of any one Father, it is often difficult to determine with what precise significance terms like 'incorruption' and 'immortality' are used. In his examination of the idea of Christ as the 'Giver of Incorruption and Deification', H. E. W. Turner finds, over the whole patristic period, that the terms mentioned above have primarily either an eschatological significance as in the Apostolic Fathers; or what he calls a physical, metaphysical or mystical significance which he sees dominating the works of Irenaeus, the Greek Apologists and the Alexandrine Fathers, and St Athanasius, respectively. His general conclusion is of great importance:

Throughout the whole tradition one answer to the central question of the doctrine of Redemption, *Cur Deus Homo*, is given with undivided voice, 'He became man in order that we might be deified.'²

¹ *Ibid.*, ch. 14.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

Several other general observations on the notion of 'deification' need to be made also. In the first place, it needs to be strongly asserted that whether the vocation of Christians to become 'partakers of the divine nature' be interpreted with reference to Pauline theology and all that it means to be *ἐν Χριστῷ*; or to the patristic doctrine of Redemption; or to the individual Christian's goal of union with God envisaged by Christian mysticism; or to any other expression of Christian thought, there can be no question of the destruction of man's creaturely status. In the second place, the Christian concept of 'deification' is to be sharply distinguished from any form of pantheism, for pantheism implies a merging or a confusion of the human in the divine.

Both the foregoing observations derive from the insistence of orthodox Christian theology on the fact that there is an essential and indestructible difference in kind between the Creator and all the orders of Creation including man himself, albeit man was made in the image of God. Moreover, the further fact that the reparative significance of the Incarnation is to be seen in the restoration to human nature of the divine image does not lead to the heretical conclusion that man is *δημούσιος τῷ πατρὶ* in the same sense as Christ himself. Such a conclusion is firmly repudiated by patristic authors as, for example, Clement¹ and Origen.²

In the light of these considerations it would appear that an unexceptionable Christian concept of 'identification' can be arrived at only when the Christian doctrines of God, of man, and of the Person of Christ are firmly held together in synthesis. We may hope to become 'partakers of the divine nature' not by destruction of our human nature nor by the indistinguishable merging of the human and the divine but by the interpenetration of the human and the divine, or, to put it in another way, by the transformation of the human by the divine. In trying to determine the Christian sense of deification we may agree with Dean Inge that

for practical religion, the symbol which we shall find most helpful is that of a progressive transformation of our nature after the pattern of God revealed in Christ; a process which has as its end a real union with God, though this end is, from the nature of things, unrealisable in time. It is . . . a progressus ad infinitum, the consummation of which we are nevertheless entitled to claim as already ours in a transcendental sense, in virtue of the eternal purpose of God made known to us in Christ.³

There is a further implication of the foregoing discussion which is of the greatest relevance to the doctrine of Reparation as a whole. It is

¹ *Strom.* II. xvi, 74.

³ *Christian Mysticism*, 1899, p. 367.

² *Commentary on John*, Tome XIII. 25.

axiomatic of this investigation that the Reparation wrought by Christ was wrought by Christ as man and that the Christian desire to make reparation proceeds in large measure from devotion to the Humanity of Christ. It is well to emphasize the fact that not only is the doctrine of the divinity of Christ the best safeguard against such sub-Christian or heretical notions of 'deification' as we have noted; but it is also the best safeguard against many of the extravagances to which a one-sided or untheological notion of Reparation easily leads and which this investigation seeks both to avoid and to transcend and also, occasionally, to expose.

In the second chapter it has been asserted that the Christian Church, the Body of Christ, is the sphere of the salvation wrought by Christ and that only within such a conception of the nature and function of the Church can a fruitful doctrine of Reparation be worked out. We have already mentioned St Paul's appeal to the Christians at Colossae to throw off unedifying habits on the grounds that they have put on 'the new man'. To put on 'the new man' is nothing less than to participate in the fruits of Christ's work of Reparation and restoration which, as we have seen, involves the reversal of Adam's sin and the restoration of the dignity of human nature. For the Christian, therefore, the primary significance of Christ's work of Reparation is that by virtue of his membership of the Body of Christ he is a participator in that restoration of his human condition which Christ made available to all mankind through the Incarnation and the Atonement. The essential difference between the Christian and the non-Christian lies not in the moral but in the ontological realm, or, as St Paul expressed it in his correspondence with the Christians at Corinth: 'Wherefore if any man is in Christ, he is a new creature' (II Cor. 5.17).

The different shades of meaning which can be found in St Paul's frequent and characteristic use of the phrase *ἐν Χριστῷ* do not need to detain us here. One observation, however, may be permitted as being relevant to our present purpose. Behind the Pauline phrases 'in Christ' and 'the Church which is his body' there lies the same attempt to find a vocabulary capable of expressing the closest possible unity of life between Christ and his members. Although it is inevitable that St Paul's language contains an element of metaphor, the metaphorical content is itself a striving to express a living reality in the relationship between Christ and his Church which defies literal expression.

The living reality which is the change brought about in man's relationship with God through the reparative work of Christ, is made actual in the lives of his members through baptism. Throughout the New Testament

writings there is great emphasis on the importance of baptism. The Gospels, the Acts and the Pauline writings all demonstrate the great significance which baptism held in the life and thought of the early Christian Church. Whether or not the words of the great commission to go and 'make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost' (Matt. 28.19) were an original part of St Matthew's Gospel is a consideration which does not prevent us from seeing in the great commission a summary of what the Early Church believed to be its function and mission in the world. Despite the words of the Baptism Service, Holy Baptism is frequently administered today at times and in circumstances which, in England at any rate, make it altogether too easy for the ordinary Christian to fail to see and to understand the deep significance of the baptismal mystery in the Christian life.

In the first centuries of Christian experience the importance and the significance of Baptism was clearly seen not only in the prominence given to the Baptism of catechumens in the liturgical observance of Easter Eve, for example, but also in the visible joy that radiated in the faces and the lives of the newly baptized. The primary truth that to be baptized into Christ and to be baptized into the Church which is his Body were one and the same thing had not yet been overlaid; and the prevalent modern heresy which makes a dichotomy between 'being a Christian' and 'belonging to the Church' was quite unknown. In such circumstances it was a demonstrable fact as well as a theological certainty that 'as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ' (Gal. 3.27). Anyone who has been privileged to witness the baptism of catechumens in the Church overseas must have seen the light in the eyes and the joy on the faces of those whose spirits are so lately 'streaming from the waters of baptism' as, clad in their white chrisoms and carrying lighted candles, they proceed from the font to the altar for the blessing of the bishop or priest.

Both the language of St Paul and the symbolism of Christian ceremonial give expression to the truth that to 'put on' Christ in baptism is to be initiated into restored humanity, for 'the work of Christ is not limited to the re-creation of human nature in one historical individual, even if that individual be God incarnate . . . The ultimate purpose of the Incarnation is not just the re-creation of human nature in Jesus, but the re-creation of the whole human race into him.'¹ It is of this recreation of manhood in those who are restored by him that Jesus and Nicodemus were speaking, when Nicodemus was told 'Except a man be born of water and the

¹ E. L. Mascall, *Christ, the Christian and the Church*, 1946, p. 69.

Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born anew' (John 3.5-7). Christians have always understood that it is through the waters of Baptism that this regeneration takes place.

It has been the theme of this chapter so far to show that a great part of the reparative Work of Christ is the re-creation and restoration of human nature, and that men and women are re-created by being incorporated into the Human Nature of Jesus by Baptism. At this point, there are several considerations which it is necessary to have in mind.

In the first place, it is well to remind ourselves that in considering the effects of Christ's victory over sin and evil in all its forms in terms of reparation, restoration and regeneration for the whole of mankind, we must not overlook what it cost Jesus as our Representative to take away the sins of the world. For

. . . the bridge that unites the perfect re-creation of manhood in the individual human nature of Jesus with the re-creation of manhood in those who are restored by him, is the historical assumption by him in the free and perfect obedience of his human will, of both the pain and the punishment that their fallen condition demands.¹

So important is this aspect of our Redemption that separate chapters will be devoted to investigating the part which the ideas of suffering and sacrifice play in a full doctrine of Reparation.

A second consideration which we must have in mind is in the nature of a paradox. One of the many great paradoxes of the New Testament is in the theology of salvation which we find there. On the one hand, the New Testament as a whole bears witness to the fact that God himself has taken the initiative and done all that is necessary for the work of man's salvation, for 'while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son' (Rom. 5.10). In a very real sense, the New Testament is a commentary on the text of the psalmist: 'The help that is done upon earth he doeth it himself' (Ps. 74.13, B.C.P.). On the other hand, there is equal stress laid on man's responsibility to be on the alert, and to co-operate with God in the carrying out of his purposes. There is a note of urgency and personal responsibility running through almost all the dominical teaching whether of parables or precepts. 'While there is time' is a keynote of the apostolic preaching and not only an incitement to almsgiving or philanthropy. In the light of this we need to remember that however

¹ E. L. Mascall, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

important and far-reaching and ineradicable (except by sin) are the effects of Christian Baptism, Baptism is none the less a ceremony or, rather, a sacrament of initiation. At Baptism the feet of the Christian are securely set along the way of renewal, but he has a long distance to cover before he reaches the goal, before, in fact, he has attained to what St Paul called 'the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ' (Eph. 4.13). The activity of co-operation with divine grace for the attainment of our salvation is sanctification and it is the natural corollary or sequence to Baptism. Or, to put it another way, sanctification is 'the progressive realisation in the moral realm of the change that was made in the ontological realm by baptism.'¹ Again, this is so important a consideration that special reference will be made in a subsequent chapter to the place of reparation and sanctification in living the Christian life.

We come now to consider how Christians can participate in Reparation as a restorative activity on behalf of others. We have constantly observed that St Paul's conception of the Church as the Body of Christ assumes an identity of life between Christ and his members. The same thought underlies a good deal of the Fourth Gospel where its expression is directed more especially towards the function and mission of the Church in and over against the world. Before his Passion, Jesus declared: 'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself' (John 12.32), and similarly before his Passion he prayed not only 'for those whom thou hast given me' but also for them 'that believe on me through their word; that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us: that the world may believe that thou didst send me' (John 17.9, 20-21). After his Resurrection and Ascension the Church on earth became the instrument by which all men might be drawn to Christ and saved by him within the fellowship of the Christian Church. Of his own choice and decision, from the Ascension till the Second Coming, Christ made himself dependent, for the work of redemption and restoration, upon his Church, that is, upon the living members of his Body. 'As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you' (John 20.21).

The Church is set 'in the midst of this naughty world' to be the means by which all men are restored in Christ and grafted into his New Creation. The Church is a corporate Body and every baptized member of it not only influences and is influenced by the other members but is called to his own share of responsibility before God both on behalf of his fellow-members and with regard to those as yet outside the Church. Not only the Church as a whole but every member of it in 'his own vocation and

¹ E. L. Mascall, *op. cit.*, preface, p. v.

ministry' is committed to extend to others Christ's work of restoration and redemption.

It is possible to view the normal functions of the Church's ministry, the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments, and all the methods of evangelism, as part of the Church's ministry of Reparation in so far as, being an integral part of 'the building up of the body of Christ', they tend towards the restoration of all things in Christ.

There is, however, a very special way in which Christians, both corporately and individually, share in the reparative and restorative activity of Christ. 'Bear ye one another's burdens', said St Paul, 'and so fulfil the law of Christ' (Gal. 6.2). It is perhaps only when we are prepared to follow Christ not only along the way of compassion but also to the point of identification with men in their human need that we can be said to share in his work of restoration and redemption.

During his Incarnate Life on earth Jesus was 'in all points tempted like as we are yet without sin.' It was because he identified himself at every point, sin only excepted, with our human condition that he was able to restore and redeem humanity. That way of identification led him along the Via Dolorosa to the Cross. To be a Christian means, as we have seen, to be identified with Christ in the fellowship of his sufferings, Death, and Resurrection. The purpose of his self-immolation was no less than the redemption of the world. Moreover, every Christian whose faith is a living reality, longs, as St Thomas did (cf. John 11.16), to share in Christ's redemptive activity for the world. And the marvel is not only that we are allowed to do so, but that Jesus commands it as the true test of discipleship: 'If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me' (Mark 8.34).

The identity of life between Christ and his Church includes for his members what is often called, and equally often misunderstood, the Imitation of Christ. The Imitation of Christ is not a slavish imitation in an inferior style of the divine example but rather the reproduction of the Christ-life in the living members of his Body. It is by the living witness of their lives that Christ longs to draw all men unto himself. Like him, then, they are called to take up the Cross and follow him, freely and fearlessly, to the point of identification, in a greater or lesser degree, with those whom they seek to bring within the sphere of salvation.

The way of identification must often involve the Christian, as it involved Christ, in suffering and self-sacrifice. A recent writer has made a penetrating comparison between the English and the Russian attitude to suffering:

English pity investigates conditions in the basement, (i.e. the unfortunate, unsuccessful, incompetent, unreliable, etc.) finds them intolerable, and does what it can to fit those who are capable of it, to rise and join in the life above stairs. *But to go down there and stay down*, without any thought of return or reform—that would be silly,—it would not lead anywhere.¹

It is of the spirit of Christian identification ‘to go down there and stay down’ and it has often, if not always, been a mark of Russian Christian spirituality. The same author’s description and analysis of Russian pity makes clear what I understand to be the significance of identification with human need as the chief and most essential element in the Christian activity of Reparation interpreted in terms of restoration:

How then does the Russian pity strive to mend the ill, to heal the wound, to bridge the gap? . . . it cannot be done impersonally or anonymously. . . . Therefore, concludes the Russian, he who pities another must leave his own place among the good people on the sunny side of the gap, must go out and find the other where he is—in the darkness, on the side of evil—and be ready to stay with him there; if he returns at all, it is with the other and at his pace.²

To restore men to their true dignity which is a life of fellowship with God, it is often necessary in the midst of a fallen world to attempt at the same time to restore broken relationships between man and man. For this reason it often happens that those who see most clearly the need for identification as an integral part of their participating in the great drama of the world’s redemption, do not interpret it in so passive a manner as Russian Christians have usually done. In the struggle for human rights and personal freedom for the African peoples of South Africa the Rev. Father Trevor Huddleston, C.R. regards identification as a duty laid on all European Christians as a matter of conscience, yet the implications he draws are in some respects the direct reverse of those drawn by his fellow Russian Christians who have recently been placed in not altogether dissimilar circumstances. As long ago as 1953 Fr Huddleston wrote:

But in South Africa the whip now falls on Black shoulders, not on White. And in my opinion the only possible choice for Christians is identification with the African people: a sharing in their sufferings so far as this is possible—and a determination to do all in one’s power to make known what is unjust and to strive against it.³

In his own experience Fr Huddleston has combined identification with vigorous action and, even at the lowest level, the latter has often met its

¹ Julia de Beausobre, *Creative Suffering*, 1949, p. 31.

² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³ *The Observer*, August 30, 1953.

mark because, at least, the charge of aloofness could not be laid against him.

In one of his most recent books Dr J. W. C. Wand has a passage which aptly summarizes the truths to which we have sought to give expression in the last part of this chapter, how by virtue of our incorporation into Christ we are one with him and privileged not only to share in the newness of life which he imparts but to be the means of extending it to others:

As for ourselves, this unitive life will mean not only a consciousness of being one with Christ. . . . We learn to know in personal experience the power of his resurrection. We are thus enabled to become by God's good grace and our union with him a centre of vitality to others. . . . We become the instruments by which he communicates his life and inspiration to others. We are one with him in his work, privileged to assist in his continuous redemption of the world.¹

Before concluding this chapter there is a further point to be made. Whereas, in principle, the whole of mankind is caught up into the New Creation effected by Christ in the restorative and reparative actions of his life, Death, Resurrection and Ascension, the fact remains that in every age there are those who are ignorant of, or unresponsive to, its effects. Nevertheless, while it remains true that men and women normally enter into personal possession of the re-created human nature by means of Baptism, the healing power of Christ is effectual throughout the whole created order.

Some comparison has already been made between the approaches of Eastern and Western Christianity to the belief that by identification with the need of the world the Church can share with her Lord in actualizing the re-creation of the world. A further comparison is important here. Orthodox Christians in the East have been so conscious of the cosmic effects of the hypostatic union of the divine Word and the Human Nature of Jesus Christ that they have often appeared to be unconscious of the eschatological tension in the New Testament, and especially in the Gospels, between the conception of the Kingdom of Heaven as a present possession and the conception of the Kingdom of Heaven as a future inheritance; and to imply that the personal co-operation and sanctification of individuals within the Church is at least secondary if not unimportant. Christians in the West, on the other hand, have put so much emphasis on individual sanctification and justification, whether by Catholic insistence on the importance of Baptism and the sacramental life or by Protestant insistence on conversion and a personal act of faith in

¹ *Seven Steps to Heaven*, 1955, p. 97.

Christ, that they have often appeared to view the world outside the Church as being quite untouched by the redemptive influence of Christ Incarnate.

One of the great tragedies consequent upon the fracture, if not the disappearance, of the visible unity of the Church is our frequent inability to perceive that the two points of view outlined above should be complementary rather than contradictory within the life of the Church Militant here on earth. If what has been written in this chapter represents a true understanding of the nature and function of the Church, then the Church as a corporate Body and the Church as a Society of individuals, the apprehension of the cosmic effects of the Incarnation and the Atonement and the application of their consequences to the individual—all have their place in a full doctrine of Reparation, both as a theological concept and as an activity of the Christian life.

It is the vocation of the Church to lay hold on, in ever-increasing measure, the new life which is hers by virtue of her incorporation into the re-created Human Nature of Christ. It is equally her vocation to be the means through which the new life of Christ is communicated to the world. The aspiration which finds expression in the words of Charles Wesley's familiar hymn must ever be the prayer in the heart of the Church Militant:

Finish then thy new creation,
Pure and spotless let us be;
Let us see thy great salvation,
Perfectly restored in thee,
Changed from glory into glory,
Till in heaven we take our place,
Till we cast our crowns before thee,
Lost in wonder, love and praise.

The vocation of the Church is so to enter into the reparative and restorative activity of Christ that the world's re-creation may be brought to completion, and her own may be purged of all that on the human side is sinful, maimed and undeveloped. In that day the word spoken proleptically on the Cross will be one with the word spoken apocalyptically to John on the Isle of Patmos: 'It is finished. . . . Behold, I make all things new.'

5

Reparation and Suffering

IN T. S. ELIOT'S WELL-KNOWN PLAY, *Murder in the Cathedral*, Thomas Becket is wrestling with the problem: 'Can I neither act nor suffer without perdition?' In answer to his tortured self-examination the Tempter replies in the very words which the Archbishop himself had used in his initial speech to commend the intuitive but uncomprehending insight of the women of Canterbury:

You know and do not know, what it is to act or suffer.
You know and do not know, that acting is suffering,
And suffering action. Neither does the actor suffer
Nor the patient act. But both are fixed
In an eternal action, an eternal patience
To which all must consent that it may be willed
And which all must suffer that they may will it,
That the pattern may subsist, that the wheel may turn and
Be forever still.¹

We cannot emphasize too strongly that Reparation is essentially a creative activity. That suffering can, and, for a fully Christian view, must, be equally regarded as a creative activity, this chapter will hope to show. In the lines just quoted, Eliot has given powerful expression to the thought that action and suffering are inextricably bound together in human experience and, if I interpret his thought aright, that only in so far as we realize them to be so bound together can the purpose of God for humanity be both comprehended and achieved. Viewed in this way it becomes possible to regard suffering as the most universal, and probably the most powerful means of Reparation whereby Christians may share in the redemptive activity of God himself. In order to justify this assertion it must be set within the broader context of a Christian conception of suffering as a whole.

The universal existence of suffering in one form or another has made

¹ *Murder in the Cathedral*, 1937 ed., p. 40.

it necessary for all the great religions of the world to take it into account in their quest for security in God. Some seek to ignore suffering, some to rise above it, and some to accept it whether in a negative or a positive way. It is no part of our present purpose to compare in detail the Christian attitude to suffering with that of other religious systems such as Hinduism, Confucianism, Buddhism and Islam, of the polytheistic religions of the ancient East, or of the classical philosophies of Greece and Rome. There is, however, one observation which it appears necessary to make and to which, I believe, such a comparison leads.

I believe it is true to say that much that is a legacy of the pagan systems of antiquity and much that is sub-Christian masquerades beneath many of the expressions of popular preaching and popular piety, especially in the West, with regard to the existence of suffering and our attitude in the face of it. That Christianity offers a sop to the masses and is no more than a form of escapism, is, for example, a charge which has often been levelled. Such an attitude has often been invited, I think, by many popular hymns, especially some inspired by the strong Evangelical piety of the nineteenth century. The Christian is promised, for example, that 'in the arms of Jesus' he is

Free from the blight of sorrow,
Free from my doubts and fears,
Free from my daily trials,
Free from my frequent tears.

Even the well-loved hymn of Charles Wesley, with its much stronger theological basis, is open to misunderstanding along these lines, for its opening verse easily suggests an attitude to the sufferings and stresses of daily life which ill accords with the religion of the Incarnation:

Jesu, Lover of my soul,
Let me to Thy bosom fly,
While the nearer waters roll,
While the tempest still is high.
Hide me, O my Saviour, hide,
Till the storm of life is past.

But it is not only at the level of popular piety—not to mention any modern perversions such as Christian Science—that we have inherited a legacy of sub-Christian, if not pagan, thought. It is not often pointed out that a good deal of our Western culture and civilization has been built upon high ideals of, for example, patriotism and endurance, which are not necessarily Christian in themselves and which, although—and perhaps because—they have often been clothed with Christian piety, are

capable of conveying a misleading attitude to self-sacrifice and suffering, or an inadequate conception of their significance. 'Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do and die.' Many examples might be cited of patient, brave and uncomplaining suffering, but which, as they stand, are no more than expressions of stoical resignation. While they are capable, no doubt, of being transformed into an attitude of Christian acceptance, so long as they are lacking in joyousness it is a far cry from them as they stand to the spirit of Jesus, 'who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame' (Heb. 12.2).

While it is true that many of the ideals of our Western Christian culture are permeated by attitudes that are not specifically Christian, on the other hand, it is also true that whereas, as I have already asserted, suffering can be made a real and powerful way of Reparation, it need not necessarily be so. When St Paul wrote, 'Behold, I tell you a mystery' (I Cor. 15.51, etc.), he was not talking about suffering, but about the general resurrection at the Last Day. Suffering is, nevertheless, for the Christian, both a mystery in the Pauline sense that its meaning is made known to those to whom God reveals it, and in the sense that, apart from the Christian revelation, suffering is a mystery which we cannot fully comprehend with the intellect alone. Any attempt to plumb the mystery of suffering in the Christian life must, it seems to me, take as the starting-point some such conception as that underlying the lines of a familiar hymn:

We cannot understand the woe
Thy love was pleased to bear;
O Lamb of God, we only know
That all our hopes are there.

Only in the light of the great biblical doctrines of the love of God, the Redemption wrought by Christ, and the Church as the Body of Christ can a specifically Christian attitude to suffering be apprehended or expounded, and only so can we seek to understand the idea of reparative suffering as a Christian concept both in ideal and in practice.

It has often been objected that the existence of suffering conflicts with the belief that the essential nature and character of God is love. Part of the difficulty arises from the fact that in the Old Testament suffering is represented as being sent by God directly or by his agent (e.g. I Sam. 16.14 f.; Job. 2.7; Ps. 44.9 f., etc.).

In our own day we are fully aware that there are many kinds and causes of suffering, and some, at least, of our difficulties in reading the Old Testament are resolved when we remember the fact that the people of

Ancient Israel had no conception of what we now call 'secondary causes' of disease, disaster and the like. There are, however, many aspects of the problem of suffering which cannot be explained wholly, and perhaps not at all, in terms of secondary causes. Moreover, the ease with which the rational and scientific thinking of the twentieth century explains (or, sometimes, explains away) personal and corporate suffering of all types in terms of secondary causes must not blind us to the connection between suffering and sin.

That there is a basic connection between suffering and sin is a biblical conception, but one that is not always easy to interpret.

In the Old Testament, suffering is often regarded as retribution for evil-doing, most especially in respect of the nation's Covenant relationship with Yahweh. In the early records of the Book of Judges, for example, the theme constantly recurs that when the Hebrews failed to keep their side of the nation's Covenant with Yahweh, disaster followed in the form of subjection to the surrounding tribes. Later on, it was the work of the great prophets of Israel from Amos onwards to initiate a far-reaching ethical reform by arousing the nation and recalling them to a sense of sin, and warning them of the due retribution that their sins already merited and of worse which must await them at the hands of a just and righteous God if they did not repent. It was characteristic of the prophetic view of history to see in national calamities the judgement and chastisement of God. Thus Isaiah sees the coming invasion from the North as an instrument of divine wrath (*Isa. 10.5–6*).

Writers like Wheeler Robinson and Pedersen have made us aware of the importance of the Hebrew conception of 'corporate personality' or 'psychic whole' for our understanding of the Old Testament. Within the context of corporate personality it is not surprising that the Old Testament takes it for granted that the sufferings of the nation manifest the working out of divine justice, and finds no violation of that justice in the Deuteronomic observation: 'For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me' (*Deut. 5.9*). Yet sometimes the retributive view of suffering is applied to the individual as, for example, in the prescriptions of the Pentateuch, in the fate which befell individual Israelites or in the classic pronouncement of the Book of Ezekiel: 'The soul that sinneth, it shall die' (*18.4*).

When this view of suffering is pushed to extremes, the implication is that all suffering is the direct result of personal sin, and it is then that the existence of suffering may well seem to conflict with the love of God. But

to go to the other extreme and to attempt to remove all connection between suffering and sin would seem to call in question his moral integrity. Of the doctrine of retribution as the explanation of human suffering, whether corporate or individual, we may accept the judgement of Professor Rowley:

As one of the great principles of the Universe, valid in the world of nature and in that of experience, this is undeniably sound. It only becomes mischievous when it is elevated into a hard and invariable law, so that suffering is believed to be the proof of sin.¹

Although the idea of retributive suffering is such a common one in the Old Testament, it is by no means the only one. From the first, innocent or apparently undeserved suffering is recognized to be a fact of experience as in the case of, for example, Joseph, Abel, Job, Jeremiah, or the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah. In an environment where belief in the resurrection of the dead in a sense more real than existence in Sheol was a late development (due no doubt to the emergence and growth of the belief that God would vindicate and reward the 'pious ones' who were suffering in the Maccabaeans struggle), the existence of innocent suffering presented a grave problem and a great test of faith in the providence and righteousness of Yahweh. Throughout the Old Testament period the religion of Israel maintained that the righteousness of God was vindicated in the punishment of evil-doers and the reward of blessedness and prosperity to the righteous. This was the dominant conviction underlying the book of Deuteronomy and its classic expression is there set out at length in the twenty-eighth chapter with its recital of the blessings which shall attend on the faithful observers of the Covenant and of the curses that shall light on the wicked in every form of sickness, suffering and death. A similar view is found in many passages of the prophets, the Psalms and Proverbs.

But it went further. The moral ordering of life seemed to be violated if 'evil be recompensed for good' (Jer. 18.20). The writer of the book of Proverbs was expressing the instinctive feeling of the nation when he said, 'To punish the righteous is not good' (17.26). It was nevertheless an observable and inescapable fact that God 'maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust' (Matt. 5.45). Moreover the question of the psalmist arose in many a Jewish mind during their long and troubled history: 'Why standest thou afar off, O Lord? Why hidest thou thyself in times of trouble?' (Ps. 10.1).

Against the background of such beliefs and questionings, the sufferings

¹ *Submission in Suffering: A comparative study of Eastern thought*, 1942, p. 4.

of the innocent were nevertheless accepted and endured. The faith and patience of the faithful Israelites are reflected in the experience of Jeremiah, in the testimony of Job, in the consistency of the lives of the 'poor' of the Psalms. The attitude of the Old Testament in the face of what was regarded as innocent suffering may well be summarized in the familiar words of Job: 'Though he slay me, yet will I wait for him: nevertheless I will maintain my ways before him. This also shall be my salvation; for a godless man shall not come before him' (13.15-16).

Within the context of the *chesed* or Covenant-love of God, which we have seen to be the keynote of God's relationship with his people, not only 'retributive' but also 'innocent' suffering finds a place and an explanation. The individual is involved in the life of the nation as a whole, and the nation as a whole is involved in the sin of the broken Covenant. There is therefore a sense in which it is true to say that there is no such thing as innocent suffering.

Viewed in the light of the Bible, suffering (in all its forms) and death are aspects of the problem of evil and of this problem sin is the hard core. This is the view that underlies the early narratives of Genesis, the theology of St Paul and the traditional doctrines of the Christian Church regarding the Fall and the Redemption of man. The problem of suffering is to be understood only in the light of the love of God who 'so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish but have eternal life' (John 3.16). At the beginning of this chapter we have seen that for the Christian there is an inseparable connection between suffering and action. 'The paradox of suffering and evil is resolved', said Berdyaev, 'in the experience of compassion and love.'¹ This experience can only be shared by men because God took the initiative and wrought out of suffering the creative activity which we call the Atonement.

In Chapter Four we have seen that through the life, death and resurrection of Jesus human nature has been saved from the consequences of sin and made capable of entering into full communion and fellowship with God. It was not in spite of his sufferings but by means of them, even unto death, that Christ wrought our Redemption. It is therefore in the Passion of Christ that Christians may contemplate the supreme example of reparation achieved through suffering. To the significance of Christ's sufferings we must now give some consideration.

In St Luke's account of our Lord's post-Resurrection appearance to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, Jesus views his own sufferings

¹ *Spirit and Reality*, 1939.

as the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy and as the instrument of his triumph (Luke 24.25-27). In the time between the Resurrection and the end of the New Testament period, Christians had come to see in the Passion and Death of Jesus the perfect fulfilment of the Suffering Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah and of the fourth one in particular. Moreover, a comparison between the language used by St Luke in describing the Baptism of Jesus and the beginning of his public ministry (esp. Luke 3.22 and 4.17b-19, 21), and the language of Deutero-Isaiah in the Septuagint version (esp. Isa. 42.1; 61.1-2) strongly suggests that Jesus unmistakably identified himself with the '*Ebed Yahweh*' of Hebrew prophecy. Despite this fact and the fact that, at any rate after the Resurrection, the disciples of the Lord came to realize that in Jesus the Davidic Messiah and the Suffering Servant were one, there is no clear evidence that these two concepts were ever brought together before the Christian era. Space forbids us to discuss the many variant views held by modern scholars concerning the '*Ebed Yahweh*' in the mind of the prophet, his contemporaries and his successors, but the following summary of the position helps us to see why the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah came to be regarded in Christian thought as the type of Christ.

In spite of all continuing differences, a synthesis of opinion seems to be slowly coming into shape that . . . presents the meaning of the pericope (Isa. 52.13-53.12) in this way: suffering and privation, contempt and an ignominious death are to be taken, despite all human inclinations, not as proof of dereliction and guilt, but as vicarious self-sacrifice, voluntarily undertaken for others; further, this has made available a hitherto unheard of depth in the conception of life and the universe, which has become one of the richest possessions of mankind.¹

Viewed in this way the fourth Suffering Servant Song helps us to penetrate the meaning of the reparative suffering of Christ, whence alone can be derived both the possibility and the significance of reparative suffering on the part of Christians. Hence we need to examine in greater detail the picture of the Suffering Servant in the fourth Suffering Servant song.

In the light of what has been said in the earlier part of this chapter about the basic connection between suffering and sin, we shall not be surprised to find that the suffering and death of the '*Ebed Yahweh*' are inextricably bound up with the sins of the nation on the one hand and with the judgement of God on the other: 'But he was wounded for our

¹ O. Eissfeldt in *The O.T. and Modern Study*, ed. H. H. Rowley, 1951, p. 149.

transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities. . . . All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all' (Isa. 53.5a, 6).

Probably the strongest impression left in our minds by this fourth song is that the suffering of God's righteous Servant is undeserved yet inescapable. He is the prototype of the innocent sufferer, such as we have seen to be a common figure in the long history of Israel, both before and after the Exile: 'As a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb; yea, he opened not his mouth. . . . and they made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death; although he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth' (Isa. 53.7, 9).

Similarly, when Jesus was dying on the Cross it was his innocence and the obvious injustice of his plight that moved the penitent thief to repentance: ' . . . we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss' (Luke 23.41). Yet therein lay not only the moral grandeur of the example of Jesus but therein lay also the reparative power of his sufferings. Just because he was sinless he was able to make the Cross the instrument of the world's redemption. But because he was human, he was also our representative. Hence in his sinless humanity he brought God to man and man to God in his high-priestly Sacrifice on the Cross, winning for us an eternal redemption, as the author of Hebrews so clearly saw: 'For we have not a high priest that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but one that hath been in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin' (Heb. 4.15).

Although the Servant's suffering was innocent and inescapable there is no suggestion that it was unwilling. When Jesus was crucified his suffering was not only foreseen but deliberately shouldered and voluntarily accepted—a fact which is emphasized by the Fourth Evangelist: 'Therefore doth the Father love me, because I lay down my life that I may take it again. No one taketh it away from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again' (John 10. 17-18). This passage also makes it clear that, although the Cross was the instrument of our Redemption, Jesus did not regard his suffering as an end in itself, but looked beyond it to its fruit, 'Who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising shame, and hath sat down at the right hand of the throne of God' (Heb. 12.2). It was in joyous acceptance not in stoical resignation that Jesus trod the Via Dolorosa. His acceptance was positive, against which the negative charges of fatalism or quietism could never justifiably be levelled. Although like his precursor

'he opened not his mouth', neither did he offer any resistance to his murderers, yet, 'in the passivity of his sufferings there was the activity of his redemption.'¹

In the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah we have a picture of one in whom innocent and retributive suffering are united. The '*Ebed Yahweh*' was one who accepted the chastisement of God upon sin, and who was willing to identify himself with the sins and sufferings of his people to the point of pouring out his soul unto death in willing and vicarious self-sacrifice: 'Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities . . . and with his stripes we are healed. . . . Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him; he hath put him to grief; when his soul shall make a guilt-offering' (*Isa.* 53.4, 5, 10). That Jesus accepted the penal element in his sufferings we have already noted and further consideration of this important point will be made in the next chapter.

To the subject of guilt-offerings we shall also return when we come to discuss the expiatory aspect of reparative suffering. Suffice it now to remind ourselves that in his Death on Calvary Jesus has identified himself both with the holy, latreutic death of the Victim and with the penal death of the criminal.²

In the first chapter we have seen that the basis of all Christian participation in the life of Christ is membership of the Church which is his Body, and it follows that Reparation as a Christian activity, both in ideal and in practice, can have no meaning outside the Church. St Paul reminds us that 'all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death. We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life' (*Rom.* 6.3-4). By virtue of our Christian calling we are to identify ourselves with Christ in his suffering and in his death.

In the light of what has already been written about suffering within the context of the love of God and the Redemption wrought by Christ we come now to examine more closely the truth of the assertion made at the beginning of the chapter that suffering may well be the most universal—because suffering was the instrument Christ himself used—means whereby Christians may share in the redemptive activity of God himself. Within the context of the baptismal life such an assertion implies that

¹ H. H. Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

² Cf. O. Quick, *The Gospel of the New World*, 1944, esp. ch. 7.

human suffering can possess redemptive value and avail for 'Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad, and for his children who are in the midst of this naughty world, that they may be saved through Christ for ever.'¹ That, quite simply, I take to be the essential meaning of vicarious or reparative or redemptive suffering. The rest of this chapter will be mainly concerned with examining the validity of this assertion and in pointing out the main implications of it for the understanding of reparative suffering as an ideal and yet also a basic Christian concept. The working out of the practical implications of such a concept in Christian living and discipleship will be left, for the most part, to be analysed in some detail in subsequent chapters.

The ideal of reparative suffering is rooted in the great biblical doctrines of the love of God and the Redemption wrought by Christ, as we have seen. It was foreshadowed to some extent in the Old Testament and we have examined the classical example of the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah, especially as the type of Christ crucified. There is another point of connection which must be mentioned here. When these prophecies were first given it is possible that the prophet had in mind either the whole nation or the spiritual nucleus of the nation, or perhaps the ideal nation as contrasted with the actual nation of the prophet's own time. We have seen how the Hebrew conception of the *qahal* passed over into the Christian conception of the ἐκκλησία τοῦ κυρίου, and how the idea of corporate personality played a great part in the life of ancient Israel, while in the New Testament a Christian has no existence apart from the Church. Along such lines as these we may well find in the '*Ebed Yahweh*' the type of the Christian Church, called as a corporate body to a life of reparative suffering.

We have seen that in the Old Testament there are two main lines of thought with regard to the existence and meaning of suffering, and which divided suffering into two main categories, 'retributive' and 'innocent'. The Old Testament is very much alive to the moral value of suffering as almost every page of Israelite history testifies, and there is some evidence that suffering could even be regarded as the mark of divine favour² or as Rabbinic writings termed it, 'punishments of love'.³ The idea of reparative suffering is rarely found in the Old Testament with the great exception of Deutero-Isaiah. The sufferings of Jeremiah and of the Maccabaean martyrs, however, call for some comment, as they throw some light on the meaning of Reparation in practical living.

¹ Anglican Ordinal. ² Ps. 119.71; Ecclus. 2.1 f.; Wisd. 3.1 f.; Job 42.12 *et passim*.

³ Cf. Babylonian Talmud, Berakot 5a (*The Babylonian Talmud. Tractate Berakot*, trans. A. Cohen, 1921, p. 21).

It is the spiritual strength of the prophet's personality that dominates and shines through the book of Jeremiah. That spiritual strength was born of suffering. Jeremiah accepted his vocation apparently not without hesitancy and misgiving. He was aware that the life of a prophet was going to bring him into conflict with his own generation. In the course of a long life Jeremiah's faithfulness to his vocation and to his own understanding of its implications brought him intense personal suffering on three levels, mental, physical and spiritual. His greatest suffering (cf. Jer. 20.7 f.) was to experience, as Jesus himself and many a Christian saint were later to do, the feeling of having been abandoned by God. In the darkness of this experience Jeremiah learnt the meaning and value of a life of personal prayer and communion with God and the importance of obedience and self-discipline.

Yet (as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter) courage, physical and moral, and strength of purpose, especially when coupled with a strong, almost fierce individualism, do not in themselves necessarily make for sanctity. Neither does the acceptance of suffering necessarily cause it to be reparative. Nevertheless, the following considerations would seem to justify our regarding Jeremiah's sufferings as vicarious. However much he was in conflict with the policy and the opinions of his countrymen and however much he foresaw the coming calamities as inevitable and retributive, at no time did he stand aloof from his people's sufferings but identified himself with them, accepting his own share as a direct consequence of his prophetic vocation. Moreover, because he was faithful to his prophet's calling all through his personal conflict, he was kept firm on the rock of faith and was able to proclaim the promise of deliverance not only for himself but for the nation. And who can say to what extent Jeremiah made it possible, humanly speaking, by the witness of his words and actions shot through with suffering, that there should be the continuance of a faithful Remnant with whom the New Covenant should be made and out of whom a Redeemer should come?

Some mention must be made of the Maccabaean martyrs, Eleazar and the woman who with her seven sons was martyred for refusing to eat swine's flesh, during the hellenisation of Judaea under Antiochus Epiophanes. There is no suggestion that the death of Eleazar had more than a high moral value both in respect of his own courage and of his example to others. The deaths of the seven brethren, however, are represented as making expiation for the sins of the nation (II Macc. 6.12-7.42). More will be said of this in the next chapter when we come to consider the expiatory aspect of vicarious suffering.

With regard to the reparation of the saints Fr Northcott has aptly and wisely remarked: 'We shall miss its real significance if we fail to see that primarily with them it is a spontaneous urge, springing from their devotion to Christ crucified rather than from any formulated principle.'¹ This I believe to be true in large measure of the New Testament, yet there is one saying of St Paul which approximates to a formulated principle and which has the greatest bearing on the vicarious suffering of Christians. In his Epistle to the Colossians St Paul wrote what was then, and is still now, a very bold statement concerning the significance of his sufferings: 'Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, and fill up on my part that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for his body's sake, which is the church.' (1.24.)

Space forbids us to comment on the great variety of interpretations which this difficult passage has received from commentators ancient and modern, but it seems to me that it can only be interpreted in the light of the apostle's doctrine of the Church as a whole, such as has been indicated in Chapter Two and assumed as the basis of the argument of this book. By means of suffering, Christians participate in the redeeming activity of God himself, because within the Church there is an identity of life between Christ and his members. Therefore as Christ received the Cross with joy because it was the instrument with which he was to redeem the world, so the apostle accepted his sufferings as an occasion of rejoicing because 'there must be no defect in the fulfilment of his apostolic vocation to suffer with the Head on behalf of the Body.'² Partnership in suffering, which is the vocation of the Christian who has identified his life through Baptism—dying to live—with that of Christ, implies that the quality of Christian suffering is the same as that of Christ's.

There is, as we shall see, a substitutionary element in the Atonement wrought by Christ. Dr J. A. T. Robinson sees similarly a substitutionary element in the sufferings of the Apostle. On Col. 1.24 he comments: 'Paul is not saying that he is making up anything lacking in the sufferings of the head; rather that, of the overflow of Christ's afflictions which is ever pouring into the Church, he is glad to absorb in his flesh what should be the share of his Colossian brethren and to fill up in *their* stead . . . the tax of suffering still outstanding to them.'³ Further consideration of this point must be held over to the next chapter.

In the course of this chapter we have surveyed the ideal of reparative

¹ H. Northcott, C.R., *The Venture of Prayer*, 1950, p. 263.

² L. S. Thornton, C.R., *The Common Life*, 1950 ed., p. 35.

³ *The Body*, 1952, p. 70.

suffering as it is exemplified in the Passion of Christ, being both foreshadowed in the experience of ancient Israel and caught up into the life of the New Israel which is the Christian Church. We have seen that reparative suffering is to be understood and embraced only within the context of the great biblical doctrines of the love of God, the Redemption wrought by Christ and of the Church which is his Body. Neither in ideal nor in practice has the Christian concept of Reparation a place for an attitude of escapism or of passive resignation. Suffering, if it is to possess redemptive value, must be embraced in a spirit of joyous acceptance, whether by the Church as a whole or by individual Christians.

In bringing this chapter to a close there is, however, a further point which must be emphasized lest the ultimate significance of reparative suffering be overlooked. We have already stressed the fact that Jesus endured the Cross 'for the joy that was set before him', and that joyous acceptance must be the characteristic mark of the Christian attitude to suffering if that suffering is to avail for others, let alone advance the sanctification of the sufferer.

It cannot be too strongly or too frequently stated that for the Christian suffering may not be regarded as an end in itself. It is of the essence of reparative suffering that it looks beyond itself. On Calvary Jesus looked beyond his suffering and his sacrifice to its fruits, 'Today shalt thou be with me in Paradise' (Luke 23.43). The message of the angel in the garden of the Resurrection, 'He goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him, as he said unto you' (Mark 16.7) ought not to have occasioned 'trembling and astonishment' to his faithful followers. It took them a little while to understand what it meant to be admitted into the 'fellowship of his sufferings' (Phil. 3.10).

As with Christ, so with the Christian. We have already observed that to be baptized into Christ is to be baptized into his death. But it is equally to be raised in him to newness of life. It is the special vocation of the baptized Christian to manifest in his life the power of the Resurrection in all its intensity. To be caught up into the mystery of reparative suffering is 'not merely copying a pattern or employing a technique of a law of sacrifice and self-stripping',¹ but is actually to participate in the already triumphant and victorious suffering of 'the Lamb that hath been slain from the foundation of the world' (Rev. 13.8).

¹ W. F. Adams and G. Shaw, *Triumphant in Suffering. A Study in Reparation*, 1951, p. 22.

6

Reparation as Sacrifice

ALL THE EVANGELISTS attribute special importance to the witness of John the Baptist to the Person and the Work of Jesus. It is only the Fourth Evangelist, however, who records that when John the Baptist saw Jesus coming towards him he proclaimed: 'Behold, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world' (John 1.29). Many interesting points arise from the recording of this incident and from this statement of the Baptist in particular, but we will confine ourselves to the one most relevant to our present purpose. Both the Scriptures and the liturgies of the Christian Church bear witness to the fact that the words just quoted which the Fourth Evangelist ascribes to John the Baptist crystallize the meaning that the Early Church had come to see in the redemptive work of the Messiah. To a Jew the Passover Lamb was the most common and obvious symbol of sacrifice, although the Passover itself was not associated with the sins of Israel. To save God's people from their sins was the special prerogative of Jesus, as Joseph had been told by an angel before the Birth of Christ. It will be the purpose of this chapter to show how in the Person of Jesus the sacrificial Victim and the Sin-bearer are one, and thus to see that by taking upon himself the weight of the world's sin and by offering himself in perfect self-sacrifice even to the point of death, Jesus 'took away' the sin of the world by making perfect reparation to God the Father for it.

In the preceding chapter we have seen that the religion of the Bible, and of the Old Testament in particular, presupposes a basic connection between suffering and sin, which expresses itself both with regard to retributive and innocent suffering. It must now be our concern to take note of a similar presupposition of the Bible as a whole, namely, that there is a basic connection between sacrifice and sin.

Sacrifice is as old as religion itself, going back to the various cultic customs of all ancient and primitive societies. Although sacrifice appears to have been a universal practice of religion from the earliest times, it is

by no means easy to determine what were the dominant, or rather, primary motives and intentions between the various sacrificial customs and practices of the different tribes. Our primary concern is with the traditions of Israel, but we may not overlook the fact that, although there was increasingly much to distinguish Israel from others there was also much, especially at the beginning, that they shared in common with the other tribes and nations of the ancient Middle East. Moreover, this is especially true of sacrifice in the practice of their religion.

According to the Yahwistic source of the Pentateuch, sacrifice as an institution is as old as the human race itself (cf. Gen. 4.2 f.). Both in the Yahwistic and Elohistic traditions, the Patriarchs are represented as sacrificing and founding sanctuaries without the assistance of priests. From the Old Testament records it is by no means clear whether sacrifice among the Hebrews originated as a fellowship meal, or as a gift or offering to Yahweh. As time went on, both elements were included in the later developments of the sacrificial ritual.

It is not part of our present purpose to trace the historical development of sacrifice in ancient Israel. We may notice, however, that it was with the decline of the monarchy and with the development of piacular sacrifices and their accompanying ritual that the high-priestly functions were exclusively appropriated by the Levitical priesthood. According to Pedersen it was only after the disappearance of the monarchy that it devolved upon the high-priest 'to secure through the cultus that strength for the people which it had previously been the duty of the king to create.'¹ It is also to be noticed that the piacular sacrifices, the sin- and guilt-offerings with their culmination in the Day of Atonement ceremonies, did not apparently find their full expression and development until after the Exile, yet the removal of Yahweh's displeasure was probably always one of the objects of the sacrifice. Within and behind the sacrificial system of the Old Testament there lay the notions of expiation, propitiation and substitution. It must now be our task to see what place these notions have in the Sacrifice of Christ, and to what extent they are constituent elements of the Reparation he made for the world's sin; and to what extent the Christian Church can be said to participate in the reparative sacrifice of Christ.

In the second chapter we observed that the High-Priesthood of Christ was the clue to our understanding of the Reparation which he made for human sin. Jesus, 'the Apostle and High-Priest of our Confession', was able to deal with the sin of mankind in a way that both the sacrificial

¹ Pedersen, *Israel*, vol. III, Bk. 3, 1947, pp. 189–91.

cultus and prophetic reforms of the Old Testament had been impotent to do, because only he who was perfect God and perfect Man could perfectly fulfil the essential function of priesthood, namely, that of bringing God to man and man to God. An understanding of the Reparation made by Christ demands not only a full doctrine of his Person and his Work as expressed in his High-Priesthood, but also a full and realistic doctrine of the nature and horror of sin.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the Reparation made by Christ for human sin can only be apprehended in the light of the wholly biblical conception that sin is primarily an offence against God. It is part of the legacy and infection of human frailty and sinfulness that man is very prone to view his sins primarily in the light of the impoverishment and damage they bring upon himself and not to regard them as being primarily an affront and an injury offered to God. It may well be that such a conception demands a certain high level of spiritual insight and experience, but it was by no means absent from the religion of the Old Testament. We have observed already that one of the dominant themes of the prophets of Israel was to regard the sin of Israel primarily as apostasy from Yahweh who revealed himself to them from generation to generation in his Covenant-love. Furthermore, it was the underlying presupposition of the ceremonial provisions of the Levitical code that there was no atonement for sins committed 'with a high hand'. Nowhere does the horror of sin as an offence against God reach a higher conception than in the words of the Psalmist: 'Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done that which is evil in thy sight.'

In Chapter Four we have seen how the Reparation made by Christ has effected the renewal and restoration of human nature. The restoration of the divine image in man is, in a sense, the fruit of Christ's reparative work, made possible only because in the Incarnation, through the oblation of a sinless life and through the climax of his sacrificial death, Christ took upon himself the weight of the world's sin and so removed its curse. In considering the Reparation which Christ has made for sin we need to remember that it is, as an eminent French theologian expressed it, '*indépendant des sentiments de l'âme coupable*'.¹ It is the weakness of the so-called 'moral influence' or 'subjective' theories of the Atonement that they tend to overlook the fact that in his Work of Redemption Christ as Man repaired the injury done to God by human sin and so opened up the way for a new access of man to God.

The ceremonies of the Jewish sacrificial system, and particularly of the

¹ J. Rivière, *Le Dogme de la Rédemption* (Etude Théologique), Paris, 1914, p. 9.

Day of Atonement, were orientated in a two-fold direction. On the one hand, atonement involved the restoration of a right relationship with God; on the other hand, it involved the 'doing-away' or 'covering' of sin. Thus we find the verb *exilaskesthai* used in both senses in the Septuagint to translate the Hebrew, *kaphar*, to atone, although it has been much disputed 'whether *kaphar* denotes primarily an atoning action directed towards God ('propitiation') or towards the offence ('expiation').'¹

Many difficulties surround our understanding of the connotations to be given to *hilaskesthai* and its derivatives in its diverse biblical contexts. The idea of offering sacrifice as the means of appeasing the deity and turning away his wrath is common to most ancient religious systems. In classical Greek the verb *hilaskomai* carries the primary meaning of conciliation, appeasement and propitiation. In the interpretation of this word-group in biblical usage much misunderstanding has been caused 'because the words "propitiation" and "expiation" are all too readily interpreted in the light of the meanings which they bear in the Greek and Latin classics.'² A comparison between the usage of classical Greek and that of the Septuagint leads to the conclusion that 'the notion of a process of celestial bribery is absent from the Old Testament'.³

The biblical meaning of the words used to describe the taking away of sin can only be discovered when these words are studied in their biblical contexts, but the problem of defining their precise significance remains a great one apart from any classical allusions for, as has already been observed, this word-group is used very many times and in a great variety of connotations. In Genesis, for example, *exilaskein* is used to denote Jacob's appeasement of Esau with a handsome present. By analogy it has often been assumed that the same meaning can be applied to man's relationship with God, and that a similar motive underlies the ritual of the Day of Atonement ceremonies and the explanatory statement of Leviticus: 'and I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement (*exilaskesthai*) for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh atonement (*exilasetai*) by reason of the life' (Lev. 17.11). That the idea of propitiation was the primary meaning of *kaphar* or *exilaskesthai* was the view of Buchanan Gray.⁴ In his analysis of the *hilaskesthai* word-group, Dr Leon Morris lends support to this view by claiming that while *exilaskesthai* in the

¹ A. G. Hebert's article on 'Atone' in *A Theological Word Book of the Bible*, ed. A. Richardson, 1950.

² Hebert, *op. cit.*

³ Leon Morris, D.D., 'The Use of *ἱλασκεθαι*, etc., in Biblical Greek', *The Expository Times*, vol. LXII, no. 8, May 1951, pp. 227 f.

⁴ *Sacrifice in the Old Testament*, 1925, pp. 67-81.

Septuagint is a complex word, 'the averting of anger seems to represent a stubborn substratum of meaning from which all the usages can be naturally explained, even those with God as subject,¹ for while the Old Testament is emphatic about the reality and seriousness of the wrath of God, the removal of that wrath is due in the last resort to God Himself.'² This latter truth was already perceived by the psalmist (Ps. 78.38) but waited for its fulfilment in the reparative death of Christ.

Other scholars, however, have thought the underlying motive of the 'atonement' action implied by the *exilaskesthai* words is to have a direct action on the sins themselves, to 'cover them' or to 'blot them out', or to neutralize them as it were, an idea which is to be found not infrequently in Isaiah and the Psalms. This view is held by C. H. Dodd when he states 'the LXX translators did not regard *kipper* . . . as the covering in the sense of propitiating the Deity, but in the sense of performing an act whereby guilt or defilement is removed.'³

The divergences represented by these different views have not only made it difficult to interpret the sacrificial system of the Old Testament; their different standpoints have inevitably been transferred to the exegesis of those passages in the New Testament where the same *exilaskesthai* word-group is used to explain the significance of Christ's redeeming action; as for example when Paul speaks of Christ's Death as *hilasterion* (Rom. 3.25). The exegesis of this passage has often been influenced by the Septuagint usage, where the word *hilasterion* was used to denote the corner of the ark, or the 'mercy-seat'. T. W. Manson, for example, sees the primary reference here to be to the 'place of atonement', that is to say the Cross of Jesus, where God's forgiveness and mercy have been chiefly and supremely manifested.⁴ Another view is that taken by those who think that the implication is to the cultus and signifies the 'means of cleansing'⁵ or 'atonement'.⁶

In a more recent article than the one already mentioned,⁷ Dr Morris takes into account the views which we have already mentioned. He also draws out the significance of the similarity of thought between Rom. 3.25 and IV Macc. 17.22 (without suggesting or implying the dependence of the former on the latter): '. . . both view the wrath of God as being active, both refer to blood being shed, IV Maccabees thinks of the death

¹ E.g. Ezek. 16.63; II Chron. 30.18; Deut. 21.8; 32.43.

² *Ibid.*

³ *The Bible and the Greeks*, 1935, pp. 88-95.

⁴ *ΙΛΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ*, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. XLVI, 1945, pp. 1-10.

⁵ Cf. K. E. Kirk, *Romans*, 1937, p. 66.

⁶ Cf. Deissmann, *Enc. Bib.*, vol. III, 1902, col. 3033.

⁷ 'The Meaning of *ἱλαστήριον* in Romans 3.25', *New Testament Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, Sept. 1955, pp. 33-43.

as a ransom (*ἀντίψυχον*), and Romans 3 as redemption (*ἀπολύτρωσις*) both regard the death as vicarious, and both see the hand of God in it.' His conclusion is that in the interpretation of Rom. 3.25 the balance of probability is that the reference is to the removal of the wrath of God, rather than a specific reference either to the mercy-seat or the Day of Atonement ceremonies.

In view of all this I think it is most important, in interpreting both the Old Testament and the New, to guard against a too-rigid separation of the notions of propitiation and expiation. The restoration of a right relationship between God and his people could be brought about only by an action that would include within its scope both the reconciliation of God to man and the effacement of the defilements effected by human sin. It is the contention of this chapter that in the Death of Christ the elements of propitiation and expiation are combined and that, far from being mutually exclusive, they are essential and complementary aspects of the Reparation which his Sacrifice effected.

Although Dr Morris's exegesis of Rom. 3.25 seems acceptable in the main, it would not appear necessary to exclude all allusion to either the mercy-seat or the Day of Atonement ceremonies. This observation, however, does not prevent us from agreeing with his general conclusion that the idea of divine wrath is not absent from the Bible¹ or that many² of the *hilaskesthai* words are to be understood in terms of the averting of the divine wrath.

In order, however, to avoid those distasteful notions which have often been associated with 'transactional' theories of the Atonement, it is pertinent to investigate more fully the place the wrath of God occupies in a Christian exposition of the reparative sacrifice made by Christ, whom God sent to be 'the propitiation (*hilasmon*) for our sins' (I John 4.10). For not only in the Bible itself but also in the language of Christian devotion, in the Litany for example, reference is frequently made to the wrath or anger of God.

As was suggested at the very beginning of this investigation, nothing is more repugnant to the Christian mind than to think of Our Lord, or Christians themselves, as being immolated as a Victim, or victims, to appease the anger of a jealous and avenging Deity; and nothing is more contrary to the Revelation of God in Jesus Christ as we have it in the New Testament. Nevertheless, doctrinal theology must take account of

¹ Dr Morris has found 30 words in 585 passages in the Old Testament to express this wrath. *Expository Times*, LXII, p. 227.

² Dissension on particular points does not affect the general conclusion.

the fact that the notion of the *δρυγή Θεοῦ*¹ lies behind a substantial part of the language of the Bible and the Liturgy.

It may well be that many of our difficulties in this regard emanate from the fact that we unconsciously, but nevertheless frequently, retain an almost anthropomorphic conception of God. We turn with a smile maybe from the naive simplicity of, for example, the early narratives of Genesis. Yet we do not so easily turn both our faith and our intellect from the idea of capriciousness in God. Capriciousness, however, is an attribute of the human, not of the divine. 'Be ye angry, and sin not', says St Paul (Eph. 4.26). With us, our love is often as capricious as our anger, and this makes it all the more difficult to realize that the wrath of God is absolute as is his love.

God is not only love. God is perfect righteousness and perfect holiness as well. The spiritual perception of his people has always enabled them to realize this in some measure, even, or especially in times of intense suffering. Both in the Ancient and the New Israel, when they have been true to their traditions, the worship of God and the keeping of the Laws have always gone hand in hand. We might say that the wrath of God is his 'natural reaction' to sin, as it is the natural and inevitable property of fire to consume fat when the latter is dropped into it. The wrath of God 'is not to be thought of as an irrational, irresponsible action on the part of God, but rather as the manifestation, sometimes suddenly and immediately experienced, of that aversion to sin which is part of his character.'²

Sometimes the New Testament conceives of the wrath of God as a present judgement. In the Captivity Epistles, for example, St Paul speaks of the sins which have disrupted the social and moral life of the Church at Ephesus and Colossae as bringing down upon her members the divine anger (cf. Eph. 5.6 and Col. 3.6). This conception is in line with the tradition of the Old Testament where, as has been pointed out already, the great dilemma of Ancient Israel was brought about by the people's corporate rebellion against the Covenant-love of God, a rebellion which expressed itself in their disobedience to his commandments.

The Fourth Evangelist in his only direct mention of the wrath of God depicts it as a present judgement resting on those who do not meet the challenge of Christ with the response of faith and obedience (John 3.36). St John does not think of the wrath of God operating in a forensic way, imposed, as it were, from outside. The unbeliever, by his own attitude to

¹ 'Anger of God.'

² N. H. Snaith's article on 'Wrath' in *A Theological Word Book of the Bible*, ed. Alan Richardson, 1950.

Jesus, brings himself to judgement and the wrath of God, so to speak, is an endorsement of that judgement (John 3.18–19). The Fourth Evangelist interprets the wrath of God in terms of the judgement which inevitably ensues when the sin of the world and the righteousness of God meet (cf. John 16.1–15). As a recent writer has said: ‘Judgment is pronounced upon men in terms of, and through, their relation to Jesus, and when that relation has been established the judgement abides, either for eternal life, or for wrath.’¹

Elsewhere in the New Testament the wrath of God is primarily an eschatological conception, though even for the author of the Fourth Gospel (cf. John 5.24–29) ‘a future judgement is not excluded by the fact that its decision—and in part its effects—are already realized’.² Among the synoptic writers, Matthew and Luke both preserve a saying which they attribute to John the Baptist as he preached the baptism of repentance and warned his hearers to flee ‘from the wrath to come’. In the Johannine sense of the wrath of God as a present judgement it would be possible to regard this saying of the Baptist as a piece of ‘realized eschatology’ from the point of view of the Christian Church by the time written Gospels were compiled. There is, however, so strong a Jewish context around the saying that we cannot help but associate it with the thought of the wrath of God still to be manifest in the future.

That the consummation of history would be manifested in the Day of the Lord when the people and the purposes of God would be finally vindicated and all else would fall under the doom of God’s wrath was a conviction which had gradually emerged and developed under the Old Covenant, conditioned to a large extent by the historical experiences and expectations of the Jews before, during and after the Exile. A similar background of belief underlies a large part of the New Testament, where it is proclaimed that Christ himself will return to judge both the dead and the living, and all men will stand before his judgement seat, when God’s final and irrevocable judgement against sin and unrepentant sinners will be made manifest. Against a background of thought such as this St Paul sees the basic significance and horror of sin: ‘But after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up for thyself wrath in the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgement of God’ (Rom. 2.5).

Within the writings of St Paul the wrath of God is set forth both as a present judgement and as an eschatological event; and also it is seen in relation to the redemption wrought by Christ. The Work of Christ is a finished Work in that through the power of his Resurrection Jesus

¹ C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to St John*, 1955, p. 190.

² *Ibid.*, p. 90.

'delivereth us from the wrath to come' (I Thess. 1.10). The redemptive activity of Christ is the manifestation of the Father's love, for 'God appointed us not unto wrath, but unto the obtaining of salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ' (I Thess. 5.9). It is the working of the divine love alone which is able to deliver us from the consequences of divine wrath.

This deliverance is the New Dispensation in which Christians are called to share, the New Life into which the Fourth Gospel declares they must be reborn, and to which their Baptism admits them. The effects of Christ's saving work have, however, to be applied and worked out afresh in every individual life, and hence we still need to fear the wrath of God, for the 'wages of sin', as St Paul reminds us, are still 'death'. Yet however true this may be, we must be on our guard against any forms of expression (such as those mentioned at the beginning of Chapter Two) which speak of the aversion of God to sin in a way which obscures the reparative activity of Christ, or does not appear even to take account of it.

It is therefore only when we keep in focus the teaching of the New Testament—that is to say, when we hold the love of God and the wrath of God within a single conception of his divine nature; and when we see the wrath of God both as a present judgement and as an eschatological event, while bringing both into relation to the Redemption wrought by Christ—that we can avoid many of the unbiblical notions or the extravagances of sentimental and unbalanced piety, which have often attended on Christian interpretations of the propitiation made by Christ.

Having mentioned the difficulty presented by the notion of capriciousness in God, we now turn to another problem, namely, that of the notion of substitution.

In the previous chapter we have discussed the problem of retributive suffering and we have seen that although all suffering cannot be thought of in that way, there is in the Bible an inalienable connection between suffering and sin, as there is also between sacrifice and sin. That this should be so is due both to the nature of God and to the nature of sin. Sin is, as we have seen in the earlier part of this chapter, primarily an offence against the love, the righteousness and the holiness of God. When he falls into sin man incurs the displeasure of God and lays himself open to the consequences of breaking the laws of God, as we say. (It is well to remember that this familiar expression is less a theological statement than a metaphorical one. It might be more true to say that when we put ourselves in rebellion against the divine justice the laws of God break us.) Long before systematic theologians defined the consequences of human sin in terms of a two-fold debt, the *reatus culpae* and the *reatus poenae*, the

religious instincts and experiences of Ancient Israel had led them to think of their transgressions against God and their trespasses against their neighbours in terms of guilt and punishment.

So much controversy and misunderstanding have centred round the notion of the guilt of sin that it is perhaps well to remind ourselves that it is not 'what psychologists nowadays call guilt, i.e. the feeling of guilt or self-condemnation, nor on the other hand what is meant by the word "guilty" in a jury's verdict, i.e. "he committed the offence". By "guilt" in the present connection is meant a condition of ill-will, of which the offence is merely the outward manifestation.¹ Sin inevitably involves estrangement. The healing or reparation of the estrangement involves, as we have seen, both the purging of the offence and the conciliation of the offended person, that it to say both expiation and propitiation. Expiation and propitiation were, as we have seen, twin motives in the sacrificial rites of Ancient Israel, rites which were bound up with the theory of atonement or redemption (*apolytrosis*) by substitution.

The words denoting 'ransom'² are used in the Septuagint for such things as the price paid in substitution or restitution, as in the case of a man's ox goring someone; or for the money paid for acquiring or freeing a slave; or to denote deliverance from death or from enemies. While we have here the notion of penal substitution, no idea of atoning sacrifice is implied. In a passage which is directly sacrificial in tone, however, the First Epistle of St Peter reminds Christian converts: '. . . ye were redeemed, not with corruptible things, with silver or gold, from your vain manner of life handed down from your fathers; but with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even the blood of Christ' (1.18–19). Elsewhere in the New Testament similar language is employed,³ the ideas of ransom and sacrifice being brought together to express the deliverance won through Christ from sin. The foregoing observations lead us to enquire whether the penal and the sacrificial aspects of atonement were ever linked together in Ancient Israel and what significance the bringing together of the ideas of ransom and sacrifice has for our understanding of the Reparation made by Christ.

The early narratives of the Old Testament substantiate the truth of the observation already made that the worship of Israel included cultic sacrifices from the beginning. However, the precise significance of the different stories is not always easy to determine. The story of Abraham's offering Isaac may be an attempt to explain the origin of the custom of

¹ H. A. Hodges, *The Pattern of Atonement*, 1955, p. 43.

² I.e. *lytron*, etc.

³ E.g. Titus 2.14; Rom. 3.24; 8.25; I Cor 1.30; Eph. 1.7; Heb. 9.15.

ransoming the first-born. Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter in payment of his vow made to deliver the Israelites from the Ammonites was made in the belief that Yahweh was pleased with blood and propitiated by the sacrifice. It would appear that long before the graded and ordered sacrifices of the Levitical system were fully developed it was the principle of the sacrificial religion of Israel that 'apart from shedding of blood there is no remission' (Heb. 9. 22; cp. Lev. 17.11).

Two further points call for notice in connection with the pre-Levitical sacrifices. There are several early narratives which show clearly that it was believed that the sacrifice of one person could avail for, or atone for, another or even for the whole nation. For example, the Elohistic source records that after the people of Israel had committed the capital sin of idolatry in making the golden calf Moses said to the people: 'Ye have sinned a great sin; and now I will go up unto the Lord; peradventure I shall make atonement¹ for your sin. And Moses returned unto the Lord, and said, Oh, this people, have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold. Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written' (Ex. 32.30-32). Of King David it is recorded that when Jerusalem was threatened with destruction he prayed that the anger of God should fall on him and his family in retribution for his sins and that the nation at large should be spared. Subsequently he refused to accept the requirements for offering sacrifice as a gift from Araunah because he would not offer burnt offerings to the Lord which cost him nothing (II Sam. 24).

Another point to notice is that in the accounts relating to the early religion of Israel it is not always easy to distinguish between the latreutic and the penal notions of sacrifice. In the story of Rizpah (II Sam. 21) we are told that her sons were hanged and further that their bodies were not allowed to decay. These two considerations would suggest that the death of Rizpah's sons is penal. In Deuteronomy we are told that one of the requirements of the law was that if a man shall be found dead and it is not known who has killed him, the elders of the city to which the slain man belonged are to kill a heifer and to wash their hands over it disclaiming all guilt (Deut. 21.7-8). It would be difficult to say whether in this instance the motive behind the killing of the heifer was a sacrificial offering to God or a substitute for the true criminal who could not be discovered.

It is, however, in the fully developed ritual of the post-exilic Day of Atonement ceremonies, presided over by the high-priest, that we find

¹ *exilaskein*.

the culmination of the sacrificial worship of Ancient Israel.¹ We need to consider these ceremonies in some detail for the interpretation of their significance helps us to see how the Reparation made by Christ for human sin was the fulfilment as well as the abrogation of the sacrificial system of the Old Testament, and includes within it elements of expiation, propitiation and substitution.

As the Day of Atonement drew near, the high-priest made very special ritual preparations for the part he had to play, for on that one day of the whole year he entered the Holy of Holies as the representative of the whole nation, and no Israelite would approach the presence of God without an acknowledgement of God's holiness and of his own sinfulness and unworthiness. Seven days before the Day of Atonement the high-priest removed from his own house to a chamber in the sanctuary. On the day itself, when the special morning sacrifices had been offered, the high-priest selected the appointed sin- and burnt-offerings for himself and the priesthood, and, laying aside his customary ornate vestments, robed in a simple white tunic and girdle. Then he selected the two goats and the bullock for the people's offering, thereby performing a function which in pre-exilic Israel the offerer performed himself when he 'drew near'² with his victim. On the Day of Atonement the high-priest completed the preparation for the ceremonies by casting lots upon the two goats, one being destined for the altar, the other becoming the scapegoat for the nation's sins.

The preparations completed, the high-priest laid his hands on the head of the bullock to dedicate it. When he had killed the victim, and when he had censed the Holy Place so that mortal gaze might not rest upon the mercy-seat, he went into the Holy of Holies carrying a basin containing the bullock's blood which he sprinkled or dashed against the front of the mercy-seat and on the ground. This done, he returned to the altar of burnt-sacrifice and performed, on behalf of the people, a similar ceremony with the goat on which the lot 'for the Lord' had fallen. When he returned from the Holy of Holies the second time he went to the outer court and 'atoned for' the altar of burnt-sacrifice with some of the blood of the bullock and the goat, which he had reserved for the purpose. This done, the high-priest then laid his hands upon the head of the live goat, 'for Azazel', and made confession in the name of the people of all the nation's sins. The goat, who was believed, not only symbolically but actually, to have had the nation's sins transferred on to its own head, was then driven off bearing upon him 'all their iniquities into a solitary land'.

See Lev. 16.1-34; 23.26-32; Num. 29.7-11; Ex. 30.10.

² *prospherein*.

The essential part of the ceremony over, the high-priest resumed his ordinary vestments and burnt in this case, all the flesh of the victim.

A careful study of these ceremonies shows that the bullock and the first goat were sacrificial victims, and that the second goat was the sin-bearer. Although the holy and latreutic deaths of the former and the penal death of the latter were carried out in the same ceremonies, they were mutually exclusive. It was only when the ritual and the significance of the Levitical ceremonies had been forgotten that the sacrificial death of the victim and the penal death of the criminal could be identified and confused in such a way as to permit the entry into Christian thought of such notions as that of Christ being punished instead of man for the sins of humanity, or that of God wreaking divine vengeance on Christ, the sinless Victim. For, as Dr Quick so clearly and aptly expressed it,

it was natural enough that a Church which had long ceased to be familiar with the sacrifice of animals should misunderstand the real rationale of the later Jewish sacrifices for sin. It became easy to imagine that the offerer's guilt was thought to be transferred to the victim, which then in being killed underwent, as a substitute, the punishment for the offerer's sins, so that God might thus be propitiated; whereas the truth was that the victim could only be sacrificed or offered to God because it was thought NOT to be contaminated with the offerer's sins, and that in the ceremonies of atonement the use of blood signified the expiation or washing away or 'covering' of sin by a sinless life which in dying had been offered to and accepted by God. . . . Once this thought was forgotten or misunderstood, there ceased to be any difficulty or paradox in reconciling juridical and sacrificial theories of the Atonement.¹

It appears from what has been said in the foregoing pages about sacrifice in pre-exilic and post-exilic Israel that the Old Testament tended more and more to separate the extreme opposites of penal and sacrificial death. The uniqueness of the Reparation made by Christ lies in the fact that he voluntarily underwent as Victim the unholy and common death of a criminal and transformed it into the holy and sacrificial death of 'the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world'. Jesus abrogated the sacrificial system of the Old Testament by superseding it. 'Nor yet through the blood of goats and calves, but through his own blood, entered in once for all into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption' (Heb. 9.12). At the same time Jesus fulfilled the sacrificial system of the Old Covenant by summing up in his sacrificial Death all that that system stood for in attempting to bring God to man and man to God,

¹ O. Quick, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

and by dealing effectively and once for all with the problem of human sin. It has already been indicated that the importance of the distinction between penal and sacrificial death in the rationale of sacrifice in the Old Testament lies in the fact that it is just that distinction which should liberate our understanding of the Reparation wrought by Christ from those distasteful notions which have sometimes characterized 'substitutionary', 'juridical' or 'transactional' theories of the Atonement.

Before we consider further implications of the Reparation wrought by Christ through his Death both as Victim and Sin-bearer we need to enquire whether the ideas of sacrifice and sin-bearing are ever brought together in the thought of the Old Testament. That the ideas of sin, suffering and sacrifice are brought together in the person of the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah, who is mysteriously portrayed as undergoing both penal and sacrificial suffering for the redemption of God's people, we have already seen. We must take notice of one particular instance relating to Old Testament times, when the notions of expiation, propitiation and substitution are brought into relation to the deliverance of the nation—namely, the instance of the Maccabaean martyrs.¹

In describing the fortunes of the Jews in Palestine during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes between 176 and 161 B.C. the Second Book of the Maccabees tells how the aged scribe Eleazar² was beaten to death because he refused to eat swine's flesh, and how a mother and her seven sons suffered a similar and more cruel fate for the same reason. The writer prefaces his account of Eleazar's death with the remark: 'I beseech therefore those that read this book, that they be not discouraged because of the calamities, but account that these punishments were not for the destruction, but for the chastening of our race' (II Macc. 6.12). In retailing the martyrdom of the seven brothers the author represents the sixth brother as accepting his death as the penalty of his own sins, whereas the seventh brother offers his own death as well as that of his brothers as a propitiatory sacrifice to God, praying that their sacrifices may expiate the sins of the nation, and that thus the wrath of the Almighty operating through the scourges of the overlords might be turned away.

In the Fourth Book of the Maccabees a much larger and more detailed account is given of the same events and the underlying doctrine of expiation is more definite and precise. In this account a prayer is attributed to Eleazar before his death in which he prays that his sufferings and those

¹ II Macc. 6.12–7.42, and IV Macc. 5.16–18.22 (I see no good reason for taking these passages to be Christian interpolations).

² A priest according to IV Macc.

of his compatriots may avail for the whole nation. He prays that his blood may cleanse them and he offers his soul on behalf of theirs—the words of the Septuagint suggesting that he offered himself instead of them (*anti-psychon*) as well as on their behalf (IV Macc. 6.27–29).

The final comment on the deaths of the martyrs sums up their achievement in terms of the honour they have brought to themselves, the discomfiture they have brought to their enemies, and the deliverance they have brought to their whole nation, ending with the words: ‘. . . and through the blood of these righteous men and the propitiation (*hilasterion*) of their death, the divine providence delivered Israel that before was evil entreated.’¹

In Chapter One we have seen that one of the chief connotations of the word reparation, in its secular usage, namely that of ‘compensation’, has been retained in the theological uses of the word. In this chapter we have been seeing that sin is primarily an affront against God and that the consequence of human sin is to impair the relationship between God and man. Reparation, therefore, in the sense of compensation for sin implies the supply of a salve for the wounded honour of God, which will both purge the guilt of sin and at the same time open up the way of reconciliation between God and man. Behind the sacrificial system of the Old Testament and underlying a good deal of the religious conceptions of Judaism, we have observed a dominant awareness of the need to make reparation to God for the sins of his people. Although the sacrificial system was of itself intrinsically unable to effect the reparation for sin which it strove to realize, the very existence of that system, the less developed but equally sacrificial worship of pre-exilic Israel, and the failure in this respect of the prophetic reform of the eighth century and after—all bear witness to the fact that the reparation which human sin involves and demands cannot be made or expressed within a merely economic, mercantile or even moral context.

Considerable attention has been devoted to the examination of the notions of expiation, propitiation and substitution in the rationale of sacrifice in the Old Testament partly in order to demonstrate, and to avoid, in this exposition of a doctrine of Reparation, those characteristics and confusions which have often dominated one-sided ‘theories’ of the Atonement such as the ‘juridical’ or ‘moral influence’ theory (or criticisms of such theories) but which I hold to be unbiblical, and in so far as they are erroneous or incomplete, untheological. The main reason, however, for devoting so much attention to the rationale of sacrifice in the Old Testa-

¹ IV Macc. 17.20–22; trs. R. H. Charles.

ment and in Hellenistic Judaism is for what we may call its positive rather than its negative contribution to our investigation of the meaning of Reparation. For the meaning of Reparation can be understood only within the context of sacrifice, a conclusion to which we are led by a study of the revealed religion of the Old Testament as well as of the New. It has already been indicated that the sacrificial system of post-exilic Israel has been abrogated for Christians not because of its destruction by Christ, but rather because of its fulfilment in him; that in the Person and the Work of Christ the Sin-bearer and the sacrificial Victim are one; that in the high-priestly Sacrifice of Christ are gathered the elements of propitiation, expiation and substitution through which he has made perfect Reparation for human sin and has thus brought back within the reach of man that restoration of a right relationship with God which is both the fruit and the end of Reparation. To further consideration of the implications of these assertions we must now turn.

It has been affirmed already that in the Death of Christ the penal and unholy death of the criminal has been united with the latreutic and holy death of the sacrificial victim. It has also been stated that such a view does not entail the belief that on the Cross Christ was punished for the sins of humanity which he did not commit, or the implication that by the Death of Christ the anger of God was propitiated by the substitutionary sacrifice of a stainless victim. The death of Christ, however, does contain a penal element which is an integral part of the Reparation which he made for human sin.

That there is a penal element in the death of Christ is implied, for example, in the bold statement of St Paul that: 'Him who knew no sin he made to be sin on our behalf' (II Cor. 5.21). We have seen that in the piacular sacrifices of the Old Testament the victim could be offered to God just because it was considered not to be contaminated with the sins of the offerer. The holiness of God can accept nothing less than a holy sacrifice. Therein lay the fundamental impotency and spiritual bankruptcy of the Levitical system, and of the religion of Ancient Israel as a whole. Because of the contamination of human sin man had no untainted offering which he could make. It was precisely because, as the author of Hebrews perceived, Jesus was 'one that hath been in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin' (4.15), that he was able to offer to God as our Representative and on our behalf (*ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*) the holy and unspotted sacrifice which could repair the injury offered to God by human sin.

Yet, as our text implies (II Cor. 5.21), Christ offered the sacrifice which

was able to make reparation for human sin by taking upon himself the full burden of its weight. It is part of the horror of sin that in order to repair its ravages it was 'necessary' for Jesus, himself completely sinless, to identify himself even to the point of death with the full condemnation which sin entails. As St Paul put it in another place: 'Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree' (Gal. 3.13, citing Deut. 21.23).

By his Death Christ made on our behalf that reparation for human sin which man is incapable of making for himself. What we cannot do for ourselves Christ has done for us. By dying for us, says a modern writer, 'He pays the penalty for our offences and so vindicates the law of God and his justice in enforcing it; he bears the punishment for our guilt; he makes satisfaction to the offended Father, whom by these means he propitiates.'¹

Not only in the writings of St Paul but also in other parts of the New Testament it is clearly taught that Christ accepted and carried as his own responsibility the penalty of man's sin. The First Epistle of St Peter, for example, speaks of Jesus as the one 'who his own self bore our sins in his body upon the tree' (I Peter 2.24). In the two passages of St Paul which we have mentioned, which speak of Christ as bearing the penalty of human sin, it is clearly stated that he bore the consequences of sin on our behalf ($\delta\pi\epsilon\rho\ \eta\mu\omega\nu$). The quotation from the Epistle of St Peter gives no indication as to whether Christ 'bore our sins' on our behalf or in our stead ($\delta\pi\epsilon\rho\ \eta\mu\omega\nu$, or $\delta\pi\tau\iota\ \eta\mu\omega\nu$).

It is pertinent to enquire in what sense the reparative Sacrifice of Christ may be thought of as a 'substitutionary' sacrifice. A familiar hymn reminds us of the truth which we have just been expounding, namely that by his Death on the Cross Jesus offered to the Father

That only Offering perfect in thine eyes,
The one true, pure, immortal Sacrifice.

That sacrifice, offered on our behalf, was also offered in our stead in so far as, as we have seen, Jesus did what we could not have done ourselves.

In an earlier part of this chapter we have seen that the New Testament brings together the ideas of ransom and sacrifice to express the deliverance won through Christ from sin. St Mark's Passion narrative gives the impression that Christ himself thought of his approaching Passion in this way, and of his Death as availng ($\delta\pi\tau\iota\ \pi\o\lambda\omega\nu$, Mark 10.45). The sense in which, and the extent to which, Christ's Reparation may be said to

¹ Hodges, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

avail ἀντὶ ήμων as well as ὑπὲρ ήμων gives rise to a number of problems of which we must take notice.

In his great work on the doctrine of Redemption Rivière has drawn attention to the fact that in the writings of the Fathers the notions of penal substitution and of expiatory sacrifice, although frequently expounded, were rarely brought together in synthesis in their treatment of the Redemption—with the result that the theology of Redemption remained amorphous until the Middle Ages.

By the time St Anselm (1033–1109) came to play so great a part with his *Cur Deus Homo* in giving systematic form to the theology of Redemption it became possible to bring together the ideas of expiatory sacrifice and penal substitution in a way which may be thought to misinterpret the rationale of sacrifice in the Old Testament (such as it has been expanded above) in that it appears to isolate the death of Christ from the rest of his redemptive activity.¹

The argument of *Cur Deus Homo* is based on the assumption (which, in the earlier part of this chapter, we have seen to be fundamental) that sin is an offence against God, that man by sinning robs God of the homage which is due to him from the crown of his creation, and robs himself of the grace which is necessary for living a life of harmony and union with God.² In order that man may be restored to the right relationship with God sin must be repaired and reparation must be made by giving back to God the homage and obedience of which sin deprives him.³ Man, however, is incapable of making the reparation or satisfaction which sin requires.⁴ St Anselm, in the *Cur Deus Homo*, was concerned to show that as Man Jesus, by his Death, offered the satisfaction required for human sin that only man can offer. Further, because he is God, the Death of Jesus also effected the infinite satisfaction which alone can suffice but which God alone can provide.⁵ In substituting ‘satisfaction’ (*satisfactio*) for ‘ransom’ as the main idea of the Atonement, St Anselm is at one with the New Testament in not pressing the metaphor to enquire, as Gregory of Nyssa and others had done, to whom the ransom was paid, to God or the devil. The originality of St Anselm lay in applying the term ‘satisfaction’ to the reparation for sin wrought by Christ through his death.

Although the term satisfaction does not appear to have been used in this sense before Anselm, the term already existed in the penitential language of the Church from the time of Tertullian onwards, to designate the good works, particularly prayer, fasting and almsgiving, which the

¹ *Cur Deus Homo*, Bk. 2, ch. 14.

² *Ibid.*, Bk. 1, chs. 11–14.

³ *Ibid.*, Bk. 1, ch. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Bk. 1, ch. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Bk. 2, chs. 6 and 11.

penitent must perform in order to return to a state of grace after post-baptismal sin, and which are enjoined by the confessor as payment of the temporal punishment due to sin. It has been much debated as to what extent St Anselm was influenced by this and other previous historical associations behind the idea of satisfaction. It has sometimes been supposed, for example, that the origin of his notion of satisfaction may be found in the practice of *wergeld*, which, in ancient Teutonic and Old English law, denoted 'the price set upon a man according to his rank, paid by way of compensation or fine in cases of homicide and certain other crimes to free the offender from further obligation or punishment.'¹

Although this view is usually rejected nowadays² it is nevertheless customary for Roman Catholic theologians at any rate to regard the Anselmic doctrine of satisfaction as based on a theory of penal substitution.³ It is interesting, however, to note that a recent non-Roman theologian in a careful study of the *Cur Deus Homo*, after examining the antecedents of the Anselmic doctrine of satisfaction, not only rejects the question of secular influence such as the Teutonic *wergeld* or the Irish system of commutations but also rejects the view that St Anselm regarded *satisfactio* as compensating penalty, even though his reason for rejecting the importance of secular influence on St Anselm is acceptance of the fact that 'the Church had a long tradition of theology about penitence and thus tradition determined the kind of use its exponents made of contemporary ideas.'⁴ Professor McIntyre's case for believing that St Anselm did not regard the death of Christ as penal substitution is based on the fact that he can find no link between satisfaction and penance in St Anselm's system. Indeed, the *Cur Deus Homo* appears to repudiate such a connection.⁵

In subsequent ages, the notions of satisfaction and penance have been frequently linked together on the assumption that 'the notion of compensation for a debt and for an offence should be retained and transferred to the sphere of man's relations with Almighty God. In this connection, satisfaction for sin is the reparation for sin, or that action which, by virtue of its compensatory value, obtains the removal and forgiveness of sin.'⁶ Of the place of this particular conception of satisfaction more will be said

¹ O.E.D. *ad loc.*

² E.g. by Rivière, *op. cit.*, p. 88, and by J. McIntyre, *St Anselm and his Critics*, 1954, p. 83.

³ E.g. Prat, *The Theology of St Paul*, trs. from the eleventh French edition by John L. Stoddard, 1927, vol. 2, p. 445.

⁴ J. McIntyre, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁵ Bk. 1, ch. 20.
⁶ J. A. Spitzig, *Sacramental Penance in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Catholic University of America Press, 1947, p. 3

in Chapter Nine. Suffice it now to remark that it is one of the chief purposes of this investigation to show that the meaning of reparation cannot be contained within such a restrictive sense as the above quotation would suggest; neither is it a necessary corollary of the doctrine of vicarious satisfaction such as St Anselm propounded in the *Cur Deus Homo* concerning the death of Christ,¹ and which, rightly interpreted, we have seen to be an integral and essential element in a full doctrine of Reparation.

In considering the Reparation made by Christ for human sin, we have seen that he made 'one, true, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world.' The only possible attitude of men with regard to sin is that of repentance. Nevertheless, Christian penitence is impossible except in so far as the Christian is united with Jesus, whose reparative Sacrifice makes its possible. There is, of course, no sense in which the vicarious satisfaction of Jesus can be thought of as 'substitutionary', for the fruits of Christ's Sacrifice can be made effective and actual in the life of the individual Christian only in so far as he is himself living a life of repentance. The extent to which Christian repentance may be thought of as reparatory will be considered in Chapter Nine.

In previous chapters we have emphasized the fact that a full doctrine of Reparation springs out of a consideration of the love of God expressed especially in the Redemption wrought by Christ and in our union with him in his Body, the Church. It is here, too, that we may find our true understanding of the sense in which the reparative Sacrifice of Christ avails ἀντὶ ήμῶν as well as ὑπὲρ ήμῶν. St Paul never ceased to rejoice in the fact that to be in Christ is to be a new creature. That is because St Paul, in common with other New Testament writers, does not separate the Death and the Resurrection of Christ in his understanding of the mystery of our Redemption. By virtue of our union with Christ we are made acceptable to God through the Reparation made by Christ in the obedience of his Life, the voluntary sacrifice of his Death and the life-giving power of his Resurrection. 'This is the true substitution, which the theories mishandle and misconceive, but which the Bible and the Church proclaim and on which Christian devotion continually dwells.'²

A great part of the argument of this chapter and the preceding ones has been based on the view that the Pauline doctrine of the Church as the Body of Christ implies not only a deep underlying unity between Christ

¹ See *Cur Deus Homo*, Bk. I, ch. 20, where it is emphasized that man cannot make satisfaction for his own transgression.

² Hodges, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

and his members, but also an identity of life in which he and they participate together. The doctrine of Reparation which we are seeking to expound in these pages is grounded in the belief that Christ not only seeks to make actual in us what he has already accomplished for us, but that by virtue of our union with him we are caught up into his redemptive activity. 'As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you' (John 20.21). In Chapter Five it has been argued that when suffering is accepted and offered in union with the Suffering of Christ it is of redemptive and reparative value. It has been the main contention of this chapter that the Suffering and Death of Christ were essentially and fundamentally sacrificial in character and reparative in effect. In subsequent chapters we shall hope to work out in greater detail the conviction already indicated, namely, that when Christians fulfil the dominical injunction to bear the cross in their own lives, their sacrificial self-giving issues both in their own sanctification and in the salvation of others, and is thus a participation in the Reparation wrought by Christ.

7

Reparation and Worship

IN THE PICTURE which the Apocalypse gives of the worship of heaven, unending praise and perfect homage are offered to God Almighty, the Lord of Creation: 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God, the Almighty, which was and which is and which is to come. . . . Worthy art thou, our Lord and our God, to receive the glory and the honour and the power: for thou didst create all things, and because of thy will they were, and were created' (4.8, 11). In preceding chapters, we have seen that as a Christian concept Reparation is essentially a creative activity, and that in the language of Christian theology Reparation is a term which can be used to describe either the redeeming Work of Christ or the participation of Christians in that Work. It will be the purpose of this chapter to show that Reparation is a creative activity which is expressed essentially in worship; worship which, as far as the Christian Church is concerned, reaches its consummation in the Holy Eucharist.

Simple and anthropomorphic as the ancient Hebrew myth of the Fall of man may be, it bears witness, nevertheless, to important spiritual truths. For example, we are told that after their initial act of disobedience Adam and Eve 'heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and the man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God amongst the trees of the garden' (Gen. 3.8). Although their sin defaced the image of God in which they were created it did not utterly annihilate it. No doubt they 'hid themselves' not only because they were afraid of the divine anger breaking out upon them but because they retained a recognition of what kind of worship God's infinite worth demanded, namely, that of *latreia* or adoration. Its essential character has been thus defined by the late Baron von Hügel: 'The first or central act of religion is adoration, sense of God, His otherness though nearness, His distinctness from all finite beings, though not separateness—aloofness—from them.'¹

¹ *Selected Letters, 1896–1924, 1927*, p. 261.

The story of the Old Testament is, in large measure, the story of an apostate nation who could not plead ignorance to the demands of an all-holy and all-righteous God, whose dominant characteristic in dealing with his people was, as we have already seen in Chapter One, his Covenant-love. On the other hand many of the psalms and much of the prophetic books bear witness to the fact that Old Testament religion often reached a high degree of spiritual perception which expressed itself in the spirit of worship; as for example, Isaiah's vision in the Temple when he received his call to be a prophet. The prophet's awareness of the presence of God brought with it a conviction of his people's sin and his own (*Isa. 6.5*). Sorrow for sin must be an integral element in true theocentric worship as it is the mainspring of the desire to make reparation to the offended love and majesty of God. The tragedy and the dilemma of the Old Testament period was not that of total blindness, ignorance and rejection; it was rather that despite the spiritual awareness and the moral perseverance of a faithful Remnant, Israel was of herself incapable of offering to God a worship unspoilt by the taints of human sin and therefore of making reparation for its effects. We have already seen that restoration is a major aspect of Reparation and we have given detailed consideration to the fact that the Reparation wrought by Christ consisted in the restoration of the divine image in man. We come now to examine a further point, namely, that Christ's Work of Reparation is grounded in that perfect worship which he alone offered to the Father, giving complete expression and fulfilment to the words of the psalmist: 'Then said I, Lo, I am come; In the roll of the book it is written of me: I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart' (*Ps. 40.7-8*).

The Johannine discourse known as the 'High-Priestly Prayer' makes clear that the Incarnate Life of our Lord was the perfect worship of a Life lived wholly to the glory of God: 'I glorified thee on the earth, having accomplished the work which thou hast given me to do' (*John 17.4*). A composite reading of the Four Gospels indicates that it was our Lord's unbroken custom to join in the liturgical worship of the Jewish Church whether in the Temple at Jerusalem or in the provincial synagogues, notwithstanding his mordant criticism of those who had turned his Father's house into a den of thieves or who 'shut the kingdom of heaven against men.' Although our Lord's human worship found embodiment and concrete expression both in the liturgical worship of the Jewish cultus and in his own habits of private prayer, it was not confined to these modes of expression. His whole Incarnate Life was so controlled by its theocentric orientation that every one of the 'blessed steps of his most holy life'

contributed to the ceaseless proclamation of the glory of God, which is worship.

The perfect offering of worship made by our Lord, in so far as it was human, expressed itself in complete obedience, humility, dependence, gratitude and in disinterested delight in the Father's glory: '... Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the cross' (Phil. 2.5-8). Every activity of our Lord's Incarnate Life was shot through with that quality of sacrificial self-giving which reached its climax in his sacrificial Death upon the Cross. In the darkness of the Passion, as the Fourth Gospel makes clear, the Father's glory is proclaimed through the complete, voluntary self-offering unto Death of the Beloved Son. It was after Judas had gone out into the darkness of the night to complete the final act of betrayal (and not, as one might have thought, in relation to the Resurrection) that the Fourth Evangelist records: '... Jesus saith, Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in Him; and God shall glorify him in himself, and straightway shall he glorify him' (John 13.31-32).

The atoning Sacrifice of Jesus, prepared for by his Life and consummated in his Death, was completed in his Resurrection and Ascension. The essential link between the Passion and the Exaltation of Jesus was emphasized in the preaching of the Early Church as we have it recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, and was reflected in the pre-Nicene conception of the Christian Pasch which 'originally commemorated neither the Passion alone nor the Resurrection alone, but the Redemptive Work of Christ in the Death and Resurrection together.'¹ We cannot entirely separate from one another the Life, Death, Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus either in considering the drama of our Redemption or in seeing how our Lord's work of Redemption was grounded in his perfect worship.

For New Testament writers the Sacrifice of Jesus on the Cross was viewed primarily, in the light of the Resurrection, to be the Victory of the Risen Christ. The completion of the Sacrifice was seen to be Christ's presentation of it to the Father and its acceptance by him at the Ascension, expressed in the New Testament and the Creeds in terms of the heavenly session, for example: 'But he, when he had offered one sacrifice for sins for ever, sat down on the right hand of God' (Heb. 10.12). These facts remind us that there can be no question of a repetition of the Sacri-

¹ Cf. F. L. Cross, *I Peter: A Paschal Liturgy*, 1954, p. 18 *et passim*.

fice of Christ, but rather that in this sense his Work of Redemption is indeed a 'finished' work. One great consequence of this is that, in principle, the whole of mankind is caught up into the New Creation effected by the Reparation wrought by Christ through the Restoration of the divine image in man. To this we have given detailed consideration in Chapter Four. Here we need to examine in more detail the assertion already made, that Christian worship is the means by which not only the whole of mankind, but the whole created universe is brought within the scope of the Reparation wrought by Christ. To do this, it is necessary to see Christian worship as distinct from all other kinds of worship and to see it also as the main activity whereby Christians themselves participate in the Reparation wrought by Christ.

In its widest sense worship may be defined as the response of the creature to its Creator. With men and angels this involves conscious, rational worship for they are conscious, rational creatures. It is part of the biblical view of life that sin, which is the hard core of the problem of evil, entered the created universe through the refusal of angels and men to give to their Creator deliberate, conscious worship. The sub-rational creation, however, is not endowed with free will and the sub-rational world glorifies God, not so much by revealing God to men, but by being what it is. 'The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth his handiwork' (Ps. 19.1). The Psalms and that ancient canticle, the *Benedicite*, suggest that worship is the proper expression of the nature of a creature and is not confined to the rational creation. The sub-rational world, however, appears to have been affected by the sin of fallen angels and men and one of the signs of the Messianic Age as foretold by the prophet Isaiah was that peace and harmony would be restored to the world of Nature (Isa. 11.6 f.).

Throughout the world and down all the ages, worship of one kind or another is the universal expression of religious thought and experience, because we are all God's creatures, kept in existence by the continual exercise of his creative activity, whether we realize it or not and whether we worship satisfactorily or not. Worship is the acknowledgement of the dependent relationship of man to the divine Being. Christian worship, however, is different from worship in general not only in quality but also in kind because it is offered through Christ, the Incarnate Word of God, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. The perfect worship offered by Christ Incarnate was not only human, as we have seen, but also divine and unspoilt and it is in that worship that Christians are incorporated.

The Liturgy for Christmas Day according to the Western Rite em-

phasizes the fact that the Person and the Work of Christ are essentially a unity. The opening verses of the Epistle bring together the human and the divine natures of the Son, and represent his Work in Creation and Redemption as being consummated in his Exaltation (Heb. 1.1 ff.) The Gospel reminds us of the eternal Sonship of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity whose relationship *πρὸς τὸν Θεόν* ('to the Father') may be thought of as being akin to worship although it cannot properly be called worship (John 1.1 f.). The ancient Christmas hymn for Compline, *Corde natus ex Parentis*, gathers it all up and calls upon the whole redeemed Creation, that of the sub-rational world of Nature as well as that of the rational orders of angels and men, to join in the worship of God.

Thus Liturgy and Holy Scripture unite to proclaim that by virtue of Christ's work in Creation and Redemption the whole universe is caught up into the worship of God.

Further on in the Epistle just mentioned, the writer to the Hebrews speaks of Christ as 'one that hath been in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin' (Heb. 4.15). The perfect worship of Jesus was not only human by virtue of his human Nature, infinite by virtue of his divine Nature, but also unspoilt by virtue of his sinlessness. It was just because of this sinlessness that Jesus was able to offer the perfect Sacrifice, wholly acceptable to God the Father, and thus to make reparation for the sin of the world. Equally because of his sinlessness the healing power of Christ is effectual throughout the whole created order. He 'that taketh away the sin of the world' removes also the curse on the serpent which infected the sub-rational order. By Baptism, Christians are made members of Christ and are not only incorporated into that perfect worship which the ascended and glorified Christ ever offers on their behalf to the Father, but also in them man, in a real sense, becomes Nature's priest. For the human creature is the means by which the sub-human order is to have some kind of part in the worship of redeemed creation. More will be said of this in relation to the Eucharist.

We have emphasized the fact that by virtue of their incorporation into Christ through Baptism Christians are enabled to participate in the Reparation wrought by Christ. We have seen that the unity between Christ and his Church is an ontological reality and that it is the vocation of the Church Militant to be the means by which the New Life which is the fruits of Christ's reparative activity is communicated to the world. We must now see how Reparation as a creative activity expressed in worship reaches its culmination and consummation in the Holy Eucharist.

In what has been written up to this point it has been shown that the

Reparation wrought by Christ is a two-fold activity embracing what has been wrought for man through Christ as God (which we have usually termed restoration) and what has been offered to God on man's behalf by Christ as Man (which we have thought of mainly in terms of restitution, compensation, sacrifice and worship). What follows with regard to the Holy Eucharist will be written on the grounds that it is the perpetuation in the Church's midst of the redemptive act of Christ accomplished in his Incarnation, Death, Resurrection and Ascension, and hence the principal means whereby Christians receive the fruits of the Reparation wrought by Christ and themselves participate in his reparative activity.

From the earliest days Christians have seen a direct and essential link between what the Church does in the Eucharist and what Jesus did in the Upper Room, but they have often been at variance in their understanding of what that link exactly is. It is well known that many controversies have raged round the meaning of the words of Jesus at the Last Supper: 'Do this in remembrance of me' (*εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*). It is not part of our present purpose to analyse these controversies but rather to see what light the words just quoted throw on the assertion made above that the Eucharist is 'the perpetuation in the Church's midst of the redemptive act of Christ. . . .'

The intention of Catholic Christians, Orthodox, Roman and Anglican, in celebrating the Eucharist is not merely to call to mind something which, without frequent reminder, might stand in danger of being forgotten. They understand the meaning implied in the command to 'do this in remembrance of me' to be that of doing what our Lord did in the Upper Room, and the experience of it to be a participation in what is present and actual¹ rather than a memorial of what is past and therefore 'absent'.

The work that has been done in connection with 'ritual patterns', especially by Scandinavian, British and American scholars, may help us to understand more deeply the significance of *anamnesis* used in the context of religious experience, not only in a general sense, but also in connection with the Christian Eucharist. Study in this field has caused it to be widely held that the chief importance of the Jewish Festivals lay in the belief that on these occasions Israel re-experienced the events which they commemorated, and thus—to use a phrase of Kierkegaard's—'became contemporary' with 'the divine acts through which the life and deliverance of the people of God are assured'.²

¹ This is also true of the Lutheran Communion Service.

² Bentzen, *King and Messiah*, 1956, p. 12. Italics mine.

From what has been brought to light by investigations in the study of 'ritual patterns' we may conclude that for Israel in a special way, as for the surrounding nations in their own way, 'to remember the saving facts of religion means . . . that these facts are tangibly experienced'.¹ In a similar way, in the Christian Church, wherever the Eucharist is celebrated, the whole redemptive act of Christ is set before us as a living reality. For the Eucharist is the *anamnesis* of him who, as our High-Priest 'for ever' is the unseen Celebrant at every altar, bringing the reality of the Reparation wrought by him within the experience of every responsive communicant. This aspect of the Eucharist is emphasized in the form and sequence of the early liturgies of the Eastern Orthodox Church which make *anamnesis* not only of the Upper Room and of Calvary but of the whole drama of our Redemption from the Nativity to the Ascension.

We need next to observe that whatever may have been the exact character² of the Last Supper, its enduring significance lies in the fact that Jesus himself interpreted his own words and actions on that occasion with reference to his approaching Passion and Death. Enough has been written about the shedding of blood in the death of the victim, the resultant liberation of the 'life which is in the blood', and the restoration of the Covenant fellowship between God and his people through the sacrificial ritual to show that the language used by Jesus was essentially sacrificial: 'And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it; and he gave to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins' (Matt. 26.26-28).

The Christian Church has always seen a close link between what Jesus did on the Cross and what the Church does in the Eucharist. While it is important to remember that Our Lord's Sacrifice has an eternal significance 'reaching far beyond his own life and death',³ it is equally important that Our Lord's sacrifice took place in time within the historical process, and therefore as such it cannot be repeated. There can be no question of Christ's Sacrifice being repeated in the Eucharist in the sense that has sometimes been held by Catholic theologians both medieval and post-medieval when they have envisaged the Mass as a repetition, even if an 'unbloody' repetition, of Calvary. Any notion of repetition which leads us 'to seek for some action in the Mass which can be considered as an

¹ Bentzen, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

² E.g. Passover, Chaburoth, Kiddush, or no exact conformity to any existing pattern.

³ A. M. Ramsey, *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*, 1937 ed., p. 99.

equivalent of the slaying of our Lord which took place once and for all on the Cross¹ cannot enter into the sense in which we understand the Eucharist to be a 'perpetuation in the Church's midst of the redemptive act of Christ'.

These observations neither impair the thesis of the last chapter that the Reparation wrought by Christ was essentially sacrificial, having as its focal point his Death upon the Cross, nor the legitimacy with which the Eucharist may be regarded as a sacrifice. As regards the latter, we may briefly examine the evidence of the New Testament.

We have already observed that Jesus himself brought his words and actions at the Last Supper into direct relation with his approaching Passion and Death. Before the Gospels were written we find St Paul writing thus of the Christian Eucharist: 'As often as ye eat this bread, and drink the cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come' (I Cor. 11.26). Earlier in the same Epistle he had stated 'For our passover also hath been sacrificed, even Christ' (5.7), thus making it clear that already the Sacrifice of Jesus was identified in Christian thought with the Passover. The Fourth Gospel represents Christ as the true Paschal Lamb whose bones in fulfilment of Scripture, were not broken.² At the outset of the public ministry, as we saw at the beginning of Chapter Six, the Fourth Evangelist proclaims through the mouth of John the Baptist: 'Behold, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world!' (John 1.29). C. K. Barrett has written thus on the exegesis of this verse:

John the Baptist, or at any rate the earliest Christians, thought of the Messiah as the apocalyptic lamb, destined to overthrow evil. But Christian theology pondered the fact of Jesus's death, and Christian liturgy developed the notion of the Christian passover. John the Evangelist brought the resultant wealth of material together in a term which, like many others that he used, was at once Jewish and Hellenistic, apocalyptic, theological and liturgical; and so deposited at the centre of Christian theology, liturgy and art the picture of the *agnus dei qui tollit peccata mundi*.³

Not only in the Pauline and Johannine writings but also in the First Epistle of St Peter the Sacrifice of Jesus is brought into association with the Passover. In an important passage the author interprets the Death of Christ at one and the same time in terms of the Passover, the Suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah, and the Day of Atonement ceremonies—all

¹ E. L. Mascall, *Corpus Christi*, 1955, p. 85.

² The problem presented by the differences in the Synoptic and the Johannine accounts need not detain us here.

³ 'The Lamb of God', *New Testament Studies*, vol. 1, no. 3, Feb. 1955, p. 218.

sacrificial images—when he reminds his Christian readers that they ‘were redeemed¹ . . . with precious blood as of a lamb without blemish and without spot,² even the blood of Christ . . . who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth;³ who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, threatened not;⁴ but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously: who his own self⁵ bare our sins⁶ in his body upon the tree, that we, having died unto sins, might live unto righteousness; by whose stripes⁷ ye were healed.’⁸ If, as Dr F. L. Cross has suggested,⁹ the First Epistle of St Peter ‘partakes of the nature of both a homily and a liturgy, viz., that it is the Celebrant’s part for the Paschal Vigil’, there would appear to be further New Testament evidence that the Sacrifice of Christ’s Death, in all its aspects, was inalienably connected from the earliest times with Eucharistic thought and practice.

Additional evidence is found by some scholars in the Epistle to the Hebrews not only in the much-disputed text of 13.10, ‘We have an altar’, but in the theology underlying the whole Epistle, as for example Dr Eric Mascall: ‘. . . if from one point of view we are bound to say there is nothing about the Eucharist in the Epistle to the Hebrews, from another point of view we might almost say that the Epistle is about nothing else. For everything that the Epistle describes is given to us in the Eucharist; it would be a pitiful weakening of the theme to make the Eucharist one item in the series.’¹⁰

There is no lack of evidence that the New Testament writers interpreted the Eucharist in relation to the Sacrifice of Christ. Moreover, the New Testament provided the basis of the patristic doctrine of the Eucharist which the Fathers held to be ‘the presentation by the Christian Church of that one abiding sacrifice which our Lord offered on the Cross in the humiliation of his Death, and ever offers in heaven in the glory of his risen and ascended life’;¹¹ a doctrine which, as is well-known, is reflected in the primitive consecration prayers and early liturgies of the Church. *The Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, for example, begins with an address of worship describing the relation of the Father to the Eternal Word, and goes on to make thanksgiving for Creation through the Word and for the Incarnation of the Word, before mention is made of the Passion and the institution of the Eucharist. *The Liturgy of St James* commemorates not only the Passion and Death of Christ but also ‘the resurrection from the dead on the third day and the ascension into heaven,

¹ ἐλυτρωθητε.

² Cf. Ex. 12.5.

³ Cf. Isa. 53.9.

⁴ Cf. Isa. 53.7.

⁵ Cf. Isa. 53.4, 11.

⁶ Cf. Lev. 16.20 f.

⁷ Cf. Isa. 53.5.

⁸ I Peter 1.18, 19; 2. 22–24.

⁹ Op. cit., pp. 36 f. et passim.

¹⁰ Op. cit., p. 109.

¹¹ Darwell Stone, *The Holy Communion*, 1904, p. 69.

and the session on the right hand of God the Father, and the glorious and terrible second coming. . . .’ In the Roman Rite after the Elevation, the Canon continues: ‘Wherefore, O Lord, we also thy servants . . . mindful of the blessed passion of the same Christ thy Son our Lord, as also his resurrection from hell and glorious ascension into heaven; do offer unto thine excellent majesty of thine own gifts and bounty a pure host. . . .’ The language of the Fathers and the ancient liturgies unite to emphasize the fact that it is not only the whole redemptive Work but also the ‘finished’ Work of Christ that is commemorated in the Eucharist, as St Augustine explicitly stated: ‘Christians celebrate the memorial of the completed sacrifice in the most sacred oblation and communion of the body and blood of Christ.’¹

Any attempt to explain the relation of the Eucharistic Sacrifice to the ‘finished’ Work of Christ must take knowledge of the fact that it is not in the historical order but in the sacramental order that the Eucharistic Sacrifice is a living and permanent reality. Primarily, then, the Eucharist is a sacrifice in the sense that it is the perpetual presentation under the sacramental signs of the same ‘full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world’ which Christ made ‘upon the cross for our redemption’.² In the mystery of the Eucharist the full fruits of Christ’s reparative activity are set before us and by virtue of our incorporation into him by Baptism we ourselves become participators of it. By his Incarnation Christ restored to man the dignity of human nature made in the divine image; by his Atonement Christ made full restitution and compensation to the Father for the ravages of human sin, dying a sacrificial Death that he might thereby take away the sins of the world. The Church is his New Creation, the first-fruits of his reparative activity, and in the Eucharist she offers and is offered. By reason of the Reparation wrought by Christ the Christian Church is able to offer through him to the Father acceptable worship—because in the Eucharist she offers in union with her Lord that perfect Sacrifice which he continually presents to the Father in heaven and in which she herself is offered. By the offering of the Eucharist the Church realizes here and now the purpose of creation, which as we have seen already, is the worship of the Blessed Trinity.

In previous chapters we have observed that although the redemptive Work of Christ is a ‘finished’ Work its benefits need to be applied afresh to every individual soul that each one may be saved by him for ever. In

¹ *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, XX, 18.

² Consecration Prayer in Anglican Communion Service, 1662

offering the Eucharistic Sacrifice, the Church participates in the reparative activity of her Lord not only in being joined through him to the worship of 'angels and archangels and all the company of heaven' but also by pleading the Holy Sacrifice on behalf of all men, for the sanctification of the Church and for the conversion of the world. The intention of the Church in offering the Holy Sacrifice is well summarized in a prayer which is appointed to be used at the conclusion of the Holy Communion Service according to the South African Rite:

Look with favour, most Holy Trinity, on this our act of worship and service; and may this sacrifice set forth before Thine eyes be acceptable to thy Divine Majesty, and avail for us and all for whom we have offered it, Who livest, etc.

We have already emphasized the fact that in principle the whole of mankind is caught up into the effects of Christ's reparative activity, and we have already entered into some discussion as to the different understanding amongst Christians in the West and the East of the cosmic effects of Christ's redemption and its bearing on their attitude to suffering. Amongst Catholic theologians of the present day there is a tendency to recover a sense of the corporate nature both of sin and redemption—a point which has been stressed throughout in this attempt to formulate a full and fruitful doctrine of Reparation—and to see Christ's work of redemption as the gathering together of the scattered elements of the human race, with the Church as the focal point of unity whose vocation it is to communicate the New Life, the fruits of Christ's reparative activity, to the world.

That the Reparation wrought by Christ involves the restoration to unity of the human race and is epitomized in the Mass is an idea which was familiar to the first Christians. One of the earliest Eucharistic Prayers runs:

Grant, O Lord, that as this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains, and being gathered and made into one so let thy Church be gathered from the ends of the earth unto Thy Kingdom, for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ, for ever and ever.¹

This conception has been given a clear and penetrating formulation in the words of Masure:

The celebration of Mass is the resumption and the realisation of man's ancient projects, dreamt of for thousands of years and embodied on

¹ *Didache*, 9.

lofty altars all over the world: at Mass we enter into communion with the whole world by way of Christ: we travel an old, old road, the way our forefathers, Greek or barbarians had passed, with its departure and return, its ascent and descent, the road of all sacrifices, a symbolic road, but one which this time clearly realises that which it depicts before our eyes. Such is the Mass, the masterpiece both of man and of God, for it manifests the workmanship of the God-Man Himself.¹

The unity and the sanctification of the whole human race in Christ is the end and the ideal of the Reparation wrought by him. That ideal is already made present to us in the Eucharist and is yet another way in which in the offering of the Eucharist the Church participates—proleptically it may be—in the reparative activity of Christ. While the dispensation of time lasts God has put the Church in the midst of the world and the Mass in the midst of the Church against the time when sacraments shall cease because in the ‘new Jerusalem’ the vision of the seer of Patmos will have become an abiding reality (Rev. 21.22–27).

In the beginning of this chapter we have seen that the Reparation wrought by Christ was grounded in the perfect worship which he offered to the Father by means of his Life, Death, Resurrection and Ascension. We have also seen that one of the main fruits of the Reparation wrought by Christ is the ability to offer to God ‘through Jesus Christ our Lord’ our worship. So important did Bishop Gore consider this to be that he said, ‘The Eucharist is a sacrifice first of all . . . because in it the Church presents her gifts to God.’² We need now to consider what are the sacrificial gifts which the Church offers to God in the Holy Eucharist, what the Anglican Communion Service calls ‘our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving’.

The very word Eucharist has its origin in the thanksgivings pronounced by Jesus over the bread and the cup at the Last Supper. In the primitive Eucharist the Prayer was subordinate to the action, the tradition of which was handed down through the celebrant or president. To him, it would appear, was left a considerable latitude in phrasing the Prayer, although it is probable that certain elements or phrases, as for example, the Sanctus, became stereotyped at a very early date. The primitive Eucharistic Prayer, although short and variable in phraseology, was, however, consistent at least in theme by the second and third centuries, and that theme is dominated by the note of thanksgiving.

¹ E. Masure, *The Sacrifice of the Mystical Body*, trs. A. Thorold, 1954, p. 67.

² C. Gore, *The Eucharistic Sacrifice, Sermon preached before the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, June 20, 1889*, 1889.

We have already stressed the fact that the Work of Christ in Creation and Redemption is essentially a unity and that the fruit of his reparative Sacrifice is his victory, and ours in him, over sin, death and the forces of evil. It is precisely these things which predominate as subjects of thanksgiving in the primitive Eucharistic Prayer. *The Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus and the *Dialogues* of Justin Martyr make it evident that from very early days the Eucharist was regarded as the primary means whereby the Church made her corporate thanksgiving for the innumerable benefits procured through the Reparation wrought by Christ in the whole drama of Redemption.

In the developing Eucharistic theology of the Church it was not long before the Eucharist came to be regarded essentially as a thank-offering as well as a thanksgiving. As early as the last decade of the first century, Clement of Rome implied that the 'bishop's office'—*episkepe*—is to 'offer the gifts' *προσφέρειν τὰ δῶρα*. In *The Didache* the offering of the Eucharist is identified with the 'pure offering' of Mal. 1.11. Some fifty years after Clement, Justin Martyr interpreted it in the same way and explained it thus: 'The sacrifices which are offered to God by us Gentiles, that is the bread of the eucharist and the cup likewise of the eucharist.'¹

In the preceding chapter we have observed that while Jesus was the fulfilment of the ancient sacrifices of Israel he was also their abrogation. Nowhere is this more clear than in the institution of the Eucharist when he took as the basis of it the bread and the wine—the good things of creation—and not any part of the sacrificial system of the Jewish Temple with the inevitable slaying of animals and its inalienable connection with sin, and identified his Sacrifice with them. In this way he not only brought together the act of Creation and the act of Redemption, but made the Eucharist the supreme means by which the material order is restored, redeemed, and offered to God. For in the Eucharist not only the human but also the sub-human realm is transformed by the divine acceptance. In the Eucharist 'the Father's creation is offered to him by and in his Incarnate Son, in whom he is well pleased; and, being accepted by him in the beloved, it is transformed into an eternal sacrifice by which he is for ever adored.'²

In many of the early liturgies added dignity and emphasis were given to the 'taking up' of the material oblation—representing the fruits of the earth and the labour of man—by a solemn procession. This 'Greater Entrance' this is still a climax in the Orthodox Liturgy. Although this

¹ *Dialogue with Trypho*, 41.

² E. L. Mascall, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 185.

custom dropped out in the West there have been various attempts to revive it recently in the Liturgical Movement in the Roman Communion and the Parish Communion movement in the Anglican Communion. In the ancient liturgies of the Church the celebrant had no part in 'taking up' the bread and the wine of the Eucharist but only in offering them at the Consecration. One of the advantages of reviving the liturgical offertory has been to rediscover the truth so clearly grasped in the early centuries, namely, that the laity as well as the celebrant have their own special and indispensable, indeed priestly, functions to perform in 'doing' the Liturgy. When members of the congregation provide the bread and wine for the communion and when their representatives present them at the altar, there is a visible and tangible reminder that the Eucharist is the focal point of all our offering, and not only of our worship in the strict sense.

On the other hand, while it is important to give full weight to the theological and liturgical importance of the Offertory, it is equally important to avoid the lopsidedness against which the Archbishop of York warns us in a recent book:

The idea of sacrifice is taught in many parishes in connection with the offering of bread and wine in the offertory and ourselves, our souls and bodies, in the prayer after the Communion. By itself, however, this sort of teaching about sacrifice can be a shallow and romantic sort of Pelagianism. For we cannot, and we dare not offer aught of our own apart from the one sacrifice of the Lamb of God. . . . We dare to bring bread and wine, our work and our home life, or ourselves, only in so far as we abase ourselves before the all-sufficiency of the 'Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world'.¹

In an earlier part of the chapter we have seen that the Eucharist is primarily a sacrifice in that it is the means by which the Church on earth is united with her Lord as he presents the Sacrifice of his life-giving Death at the heavenly altar where 'He ever liveth to make intercession' (Heb. 7.25) for us. The Eucharist is the perfect intercession for it is the means by which the Church prays in union with her Lord who 'is able to save to the uttermost them that draw near unto God through him' (Heb. 7.25). Our Lord made Reparation for the sin of the world in order that the world through him might be saved. In the Eucharist we are not only brought to God by the 'one mediator . . . Jesus Christ' (I Tim. 2.5) in the power of his prevailing Intercession; we are also permitted to be intercessors in union with him and thus to take our share in that creative

¹ A. M. Ramsey, *Durham Essays and Addresses*, 1956, p. 18.

activity of Reparation, in which Intercession is one of the most powerful factors. 'Although our intercessions are not confined to liturgical services, the Eucharist remains the focus of all. All look towards it, are gathered up in it. For there we in Christ and He in us offer the perfect intercession, and all our prayers, wherever and however offered, have value only in so far as they are united with that.'¹

In the Prayer of Oblation of the Anglican Rite the Celebrant declares in the name of all: 'And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee. . . .' In this oblation of the lives of the members of the Church as the Rite reaches its climax and completion in the Communion of the people, the two great aspects of the Eucharistic Sacrifice which we have considered —the re-presentation in the midst of the Church of the Sacrifice of Christ and the presentation before God through Christ of the Church's gifts of bread and wine, of prayer and praise—find a meeting-point. By means of her Liturgy, through what is done and said and sung, the Church offers to God a spiritual sacrifice—spiritual, not in the sense that it has no outward form, for man is not pure spirit and his worship needs embodiment, but in that it is filled with spiritual power which is derived from Christ, the Head, 'that filleth all in all'—the sacrifice of herself. For, as Bishop Gore pointed out, '. . . the outward rite but finds its full meaning and justification in that—the sacrifice of the Person. Again we can only take part in it with any spiritual reality by becoming ourselves sharers of his sacrifice—ourselves the sacrifice we offer.'²

In becoming ourselves 'the sacrifice we offer' we not only receive through the Holy Eucharist 'remission of our sins and all other benefits of his passion' but we identify ourselves with the suffering and the sacrifice which Christ voluntarily and cheerfully accepted as the means by which to make Reparation for the sins of the world. To accept suffering and sacrifice as part of the Christian vocation we have already seen to be the means of sharing with Christ in his Work of Reparation. That work of Reparation we have seen also to be grounded in the spirit of worship—the ceaseless proclamation of the glory of God, emanating from the spirit of prayer. Throughout his Incarnate Life Jesus lived in unbroken communion with his Father which no amount of sacrifice or suffering or ministering to the needs of others could interrupt. We cannot identify

¹ H. Northcott, C.R., *op. cit.*, p. 135.

² C. Gore, *Commentary on Romans*, vol. 2, 1900, pp. 177 f.; quoted by C. L. Berry *A Plea for the Prayer of Oblation*, 1951, pp. 20 f.

ourselves with our Lord's activity of Reparation unless we are learning to identify ourselves with him in the spirit of prayer. Prayer, like Reparation, is a work of love, and, also like Reparation, a state of soul or a continuous activity. To a deeper consideration of Reparation and prayer we must now turn.

Reparation and Prayer

'PRAYER IN ITSELF is naught else but a devout intent directed unto God, for the getting of good and the removing of evil. . . . For in God is all good, both by cause and by being.' Thus simply did the anonymous author of the *The Cloud of Unknowing* define with penetrating insight the essence of Christian prayer, both in its nature and in its effects.

The doctrine of Reparation which we have sought to expand in this study rests, as we have seen in the first and subsequent chapters, on the scriptural basis of the revealed character of God as being that of Goodness and Love. The Reparation wrought by Christ we have seen to be the activity of divine love incarnate, at one and the same time rendering complete and perfect homage to the majesty of the all-holy God, and restoring real and intrinsic dignity to man's fallen nature. The initiative in this reparative process is wholly God's: 'For while we were yet weak, in due season Christ died for the ungodly. . . . But God commended his own love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners Christ died for us' (Rom. 5.6, 8). So close, however, is the unity between Christ and his New Creation that the Church is his Body in a real and ontological sense. To those who have died to sin in the waters of Baptism and risen from them to newness of life, the exhortation is given: 'If then ye were raised together with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is, seated on the right hand of God' (Col. 3.1). To be where Christ is, is to co-operate with him, to become the channel through which the fruits of his reparative Sacrifice are made available to mankind. 'But thanks be unto God,' exults St Paul, 'which always leadeth us in triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest through us the savour of his knowledge in every place. For we are a sweet savour of Christ unto God . . . always bearing about in the body the dying of Jesus, . . . that the life also of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh. . . . So then death worketh in us, but life in you. . . . For all things are for your sakes, that the grace, being

multiplied through the many, may cause the thanksgiving to abound unto the glory of God' (II Cor. 2.14-15a; 4.10-12, 15).

The end of the Reparation wrought by Christ and in which, after the Ascension, the Church is called to participate, is the glory of God and the salvation of mankind. Something very similar is suggested by *The Cloud's* definition of prayer, just quoted. It will be the purpose of this chapter to show how the work or activity of Reparation is essentially a work or activity of prayer in its many aspects.

In Chapter Six detailed consideration has been given to the fact that in order to make reparation for the sin of the world Jesus offered to the Father the total submission of a sinless life culminating in his Death whereby he made one, true, 'perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world'. Of the many tensions of which we become conscious in reading the New Testament none is more paradoxical nor more dominant than the recognition by Jesus of the potency of evil in all its forms and the reality of his conquest of it—a recognition and a conquest built up throughout his Life, sealed by his Death, manifested by the events of the Resurrection and Ascension, made available to the Church pre-eminently in the Eucharist.

The majority of the miracles recorded in all four Gospels bear witness to the power of the Incarnate Christ over evil forces whether of Nature, disease, death, sin or evil spirits. The Gospel narrative makes it plain that his mastery of evil was accomplished with the help of strong self-discipline and prayer and in conjunction with the personal victory over the assaults of violent and unrelenting temptation. The New Testament records outside the Gospels as well as inside bear witness to the power of the risen Christ over evil in all its forms. Before his Crucifixion Jesus said to the same apostle upon the Rock of whose faith he was to build his Church: 'Simon, Simon, behold, Satan asked to have you, that he might sift you as wheat: but I made supplication for thee, that thy faith fail not' (Luke 22.31-32). After the Resurrection and the Ascension, the first Christians exulted in the power of Christ, not in the sense that evil in any or all of its forms had been removed from them—far from it—but because they could say with complete assurance that nothing was able to separate them 'from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord' (cf. Rom. 8.35-39).

While it is true that the Reparation made by Christ for sin involves the conquest of evil in all its forms, and that the Reparation wrought by Christ is a 'finished' Work, it is also true that the New Testament paradox which we have noticed concerning the potency of evil on the one hand and

its defeat by Christ on the other runs through the experience of the Christian Church in every age and generation. For the Church, which is his Body, is made up of sinful human beings and their 'incorporation into Christ, while in the truest sense a new birth and a communication of Christ's own life, has not restored at one stroke all that sin had destroyed. In addition, the Mystical Body¹ is woefully incomplete. . . . In consequence, while, on the side of him who is its Head, the Mystical Body is perfect and entire just because it is his, on the side of those who are its members it is maimed and undeveloped.'² Christ, however, really indwells the Church and the ground of her confidence is the power of his prevailing intercession (Heb. 7.25).

Through the power of Christ's eternal intercession at the right hand of God the effects of his reparative Sacrifice are made operative in the lives of his members. The duty and the privilege of intercession, however, are also entrusted to the Church and intercession is the most obvious way perhaps by which Reparation is seen to be bound up with the activity of prayer. We need therefore to investigate in some detail the meaning and scope of intercession as a way of reparative prayer.

In previous chapters we have observed that the high-priesthood of Christ was the clue to our understanding of the Reparation made by him, for that Reparation consisted in fulfilling the essential function of priesthood, namely, that of bringing God to man and man to God. We have also seen that in a real sense the *ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ* of the New Testament is a fulfilment of the Ancient Israel of the Old Covenant. By virtue of her special covenant-relationship with God under the old dispensation the *gahal* of Israel had been a chosen people of priestly character: 'Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me from among all peoples: for all the earth is mine: and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation' (Ex. 19.5 f.).

Mediation, pleading to God for others, is the essence of priesthood. The perfect priesthood of the one mediator, Jesus Christ (I Tim. 2.5) is foreshadowed in the whole history of God's dealings with his chosen people and is by no means confined to the sacrificial cultus of the 'high places' or the developed ritual of the Second Temple. Among the early patriarchal narratives the Jahwistic editor has preserved the story of Abraham pleading for Sodom on the grounds that if only ten righteous

¹ 'Mystical Body' is here used in the sense of the Pauline phrase 'the Church which is his Body', and not in the early patristic use of 'sacramental' Body.

² E. L. Mascall, *Christ, the Christian and the Church*, 1946, p. 163.

men could be found the city should be spared for their sake (Gen. 18.16–33). Although it was Aaron who performed the strictly sacerdotal functions of priesthood, it is Moses who stands out as the mediator, whether he was pleading for victory in battle at great cost to himself (Ex. 17.11–12), or whether he was interceding for Israel's forgiveness (Ex. 34.9). During the Exile, Ezekiel perceived that God looked for one 'that should make up the fence, and stand in the gap before me for the land' (Ezek. 22.30). A later prophet was to declare: 'He saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was no intercessor' (Isa. 59.16).

Israel's priestly vocation was to be exercised beyond the confines of her own nation. A violent nationalism which frequently characterized Israel, and deepened in the centuries after the Return, often caused her to misunderstand her vocation. Frequently she failed to see God's choice of her as a challenge and as an opportunity. At her best, Ancient Israel knew herself to be divinely chosen and appointed, separate from the other races of the world, in order that she might be the instrument of the divine purpose, through whom salvation would be wrought.

So close is the unity between Christ and the Church that the New Israel of God is also a priestly body, deriving her priesthood from the Priesthood of her Head. 'Ye also, as living stones, are built up a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. . . . But ye are an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession, that ye may shew forth the excellences of him who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light' (I Peter 2.5, 9).

Through the ministry of intercession the Church exercises her royal priesthood on the Godward side ($\tauὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν$). Jesus took it for granted that his followers would be men and women of prayer—'When ye pray. . . .' and the Lord's Prayer is set in a corporate framework, the personal pronouns being in the plural throughout: 'Our Father', not 'my Father'. Christian prayer as commanded by Christ was to extend beyond the boundaries of petition for oneself to include even those 'that despitefully use you'. In the New Testament among the apostolic writers there are many injunctions to prayer for others (e.g. Eph. 6.13 f.; James 5.14–16; I Peter 4.7).

It is not, however, even the fact that intercession is commanded by saving precepts and taught by divine institution that makes it a real participation in the reparative activity of Christ. Nor is it the range or the altruism of the petitions alone. By exercising her priestly ministry of intercession the Church is caught up into the intercession of Christ, High-

Priest, himself. By virtue of Baptism the Christian is in Christ and Christ in him, and Christ, as Julian of Norwich expressed it, is the 'ground of our beseeching'.¹ Intercession is a real and essential participation in the reparative activity of Christ because it is the prayer of Christ himself. To pray 'in his Name' is to experience the truth of his saying: 'But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you' (Matt. 6.33). Only in so far as we are conformed to the likeness of Christ, seeking the glory and the will of the Father in all things and for all men, can we be said to pray 'through Jesus Christ our Lord'. It is when the Christian prays as a member of the Body of Christ that Christ makes his abode with him. We shall participate actually and effectively in the reparative Work of Christ as our prayer becomes 'a sharing on behalf of others in those holy purposes of Christ'.²

There are many ways or 'methods' by which the Church, corporately or through her individual members, exercises her ministry of intercession. We have seen in the previous chapter that the Eucharist is the focal point of the worship of the Church on earth. In the Eucharist we in Christ and he in us offer the perfect intercession. It is not therefore surprising that many Christians attach special value to the intercessions that are offered within the framework of the Eucharist. An example of this is to be found in the prominence which is given to the long prayer for the Church in all the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion. The phraseology of that prayer differs slightly from province to province but its underlying intention is to plead the Holy Sacrifice on behalf of the 'whole state of Christ's Church'. The same thought runs through many of our best-known and best-loved Communion hymns, as for example:

See now thy children, making intercession
Through him our Saviour, Son of God incarnate,
For all thy people, living and departed,
Pleading before thee.

One of the results of the emphasis, in the Liturgical Movement in the Roman Communion and in the Parish Communion movement in the Anglican Churches, on the corporate action of the Church in the Eucharist has been to discourage preoccupation with individual devotions whether such devotions have fixed on the recital of the rosary or on the use of communicants' manuals of a particularly individualistic and pietistic type. It is nevertheless often felt that the comprehensiveness of the Prayer for the Church in the Anglican Rite or the *Commemorantes* of the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

² Edward Talbot, C.R., *Retreat Addresses*, 1954, p. 101.

Roman Rite does not do full justice to the Christian instinct and desire to bring the apostolic injunction, 'in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God' (Phil. 4.6), into association with the Eucharist. Thus by the practice of 'special intentions' the particular needs of the Church and the world and of individuals are caught up into the Church's Liturgy.

Not only at the Eucharist but at all the liturgical services of the Church 'intentions' have a special value. 'They place our own feeble prayers in the mighty stream of prayer that flows from the whole Church with the saints and angels to the throne of God.'¹ This is one of the important ways in which the liturgical worship of the Church is indeed the *Opus Dei*, and its primary orientation *ad majorem gloriam Dei* helps to ensure that such petitions as are offered, are offered in the name of Christ. The glory of God, the sanctification of the Church and the salvation of the world are envisaged in a prayer which is often said secretly before the recitation of the Canonical Hours: 'O Jesus, in union with that divine intention wherewith thou didst while on earth offer thy praises to God, I offer this duty (*officium*) to thee.'

It would not, however, be in conformity with the spirit of the New Testament and with the practice of Christian devotion all down the ages to limit the practice of intercession to the liturgical services of the Church. A Christian who takes seriously his privilege of sharing in the Church's ministry of intercession will see to it that his intercessions are both systematic and regular and that they embrace within their scope the needs of particular individuals and the needs of 'all sorts and conditions of men' alike. There are many ways of interceding, some methods being more appropriate for individual use, some being more appropriate for the use of groups of intercessors, some being equally appropriate for either. It is the experience of many Christians that the use of the Rosary, especially when the mysteries are extended to cover any incident in the Incarnate Life of our Lord, is a most fruitful method of intercession, chiefly because the attention of the intercessor is focused upon a loving attention to God and not upon the object(s) of his intercession and there is therefore far less likelihood of his prayers being confined to his necessarily limited understanding of the workings of divine providence. Another way is to use the clauses in the Litany of the Book of Common Prayer—or other litanies—'By the mystery of thy holy Incarnation, . . . Nativity and Circumcision; . . . Baptism, Fasting and Temptation; . . . Agony and bloody Sweat; . . . Cross and Passion; . . . Death and Burial; . . . Resur-

¹ H Northcott, C.R., *op. cit.*, p. 133.

rection and Ascension'—on behalf of those for whom we would pray. In previous chapters we have seen that the Reparation wrought by Christ embraced the whole of his Incarnate Life from the Nativity to the Ascension and both these methods of intercession, the Rosary and the Litany, particularly concentrate on bringing those for whom we pray within the range, as it were, of the reparative activity of Christ.

The Rosary and the Litany are by no means the only effective means of intercession. Many Christians make a practice of using the Lord's Prayer slowly, clause by clause, and applying it to the needs they have at heart. Whether they expand it in their own words or not, it is inexhaustible in its application. In proportion as our lives are 'hid with Christ in God' we shall find that our intercessions, with words and without, arise spontaneously out of our meditations, or out of our daily intercourse with the world's need of God and his reparative and restorative grace in every sphere of human life and activity. We may pray in the well-tried and well-loved language of the Collects; or we may do no more than utter the divine name. Whichever we do, our intention is to hold up, as it were, to Christ, those for whom we desire to pray.

In order to exercise to the full the ministry of intercession we must be prepared to use any or all of the faculties with which we are endowed, the will, the intellect, the memory, the affections, and the imagination. There is very much in the New Testament to indicate that our Lord's prayer that all may be one in him to the glory of God the Father did not in any way minimise his concern for every individual as distinct, if not wholly separate, from his fellows, or his interest in their needs and circumstances. He who died on the Cross in order to draw all men unto himself is the Good Shepherd who knows his sheep by name, who gave special help to a widow who mourned the loss of an only son, and special commendation to another widow who cast what she could ill afford into the Temple treasury, who spoke of the Kingdom of Heaven in terms of a lost sheep, a lost coin, a lost son and who spoke of his Father's care for his children extending to the smallest details, comparable with a sparrow's fall. All this (and much else besides) would suggest that to be fully effective, Christian intercession, like all reparative priesthood, must contain a large element of compassion and of identification with individuals.

A Christian intercessor will not usually confine himself to any one of the 'methods' of intercession we have discussed and will probably use all of them at different times. What will keep his intercession real and alive and prevent it from becoming stereotyped will be 'a flame of love' in his heart, love towards God and love towards all men in Christ. In Chapter

Three we have sought to show that reparation is a work of love. Intercessory prayer, and all other prayer, is equally a work of love and for this reason is an activity of reparation in so far as it is one of the principal means by which we and other souls through us are caught up, as it were, into the stream of Christ's redeeming life, where alone we are restored to the living image of God, and where alone we can experience the truth and the fulfilment of Hosea's prophesy: 'I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of love . . . I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely; for mine anger is turned away from him' (11.4; 14.4).

In an earlier part of this chapter we have observed that prayer is in Christ's Name in so far as it is in accordance with the divine will, and that our prayer will be in his name in so far as we are conformed to his likeness. Prayer is a reparative activity grounded in the Reparation wrought by Christ which, as we have seen, is the activity of divine love. We can only participate in the reparative activity of the Christian Church in so far as we are 'in Christ', who is charity (*agape*) incarnate. At our Baptism we are incorporated into Christ and there receive the fundamental gifts of faith, hope and charity to enable us to grow up into 'the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ'. With regard to charity, St Paul says: 'The love of God hath been shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Spirit which was given unto us' (Rom. 5.5).

This statement brings us to an important consideration for our understanding of prayer as a reparative activity, namely that of the relation of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity to one another and to us in our prayer life.

There is one particular Pauline text which has a special significance in this connection. In Galatians we read: 'Because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father' (4.6). We are able to enter into communion with God our Father in so far as we have received the Spirit of God. As St Paul says in another place: 'For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God' (Rom. 8.14). The gift of the Spirit which is given to us to make actual and real within us our filial status as God's children is intimately bound up with our relationship to God the Son, for in the first text just quoted the Apostle defines the Spirit as 'the Spirit of his Son'.

Although the writers of the New Testament made no attempt to formulate a systematic doctrine of the Blessed Trinity there are many statements, especially in the Pauline and Johannine writings,¹ which indicate

¹ In addition to the texts already quoted see also Rom. 8.9, 11 and John 14-16, esp. 15.26.

a mysterious connection between the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, the implications of which should help us to penetrate more deeply into the theological basis of Christian prayer. In both the Pauline and Johannine writings, but in language that is very differently worded, similar truths are enunciated. Whereas, however, the apostle Paul emphasizes the close connection between the Son and the Spirit, the Fourth Evangelist dwells on the intimate co-operation between the Father and the Son, especially with regard to the sending of the Spirit. When the Pauline and Johannine texts are considered in proximity to each other, they bring into relief the relation of the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity to the Father and the Son without which we cannot apprehend the true nature of Christian prayer. As Fr Thornton has succinctly stated: 'Our filial relation to the Father is based upon the filial relation of God the Son to God the Father; and the filial attitude which comes to expression in our prayer life is nothing less than an identification of our human spirits with that filial relation through the medium of the Third Person of the Trinity.'¹

In Chapter Four we have considered the meaning of Reparation as restoration and we have seen its meaning to be fundamentally contained in the Pauline doctrine of the Second Adam, the restoration in Christ of sin-spoilt human nature. From this point of view we have seen that reparation as a Christian activity means incorporation into Christ by Baptism, which is a putting on of the 'new man'. Baptism works in us by the power of the Spirit the renewal of the divine image. It does not, however, effect our final conformation to the 'likeness of Christ'. It is at this point that we may see a further aspect of prayer as a reparative activity, as being the principal means by which 'the Spirit of his Son' brings to fulfilment in us that filial relation to the Father for which we were created.

In the eighth chapter of Romans we are told that while those who have 'the first-fruits of the Spirit' groan within themselves waiting for 'the redemption of our body . . . in like manner the Spirit also helpeth our infirmity: for we know not how to pray as we ought; but the Spirit himself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered' (Rom. 8.23, 26). The goal of this travailing in the Spirit is conformity to the image of the Son. In proportion as we are conformed to that likeness 'we know that to them that love God all things work together for good' (Rom. 8.28). Those who love God are they in whom the image of the Son,

¹ L. S. Thornton, C.R., 'The Revelation of the Trinity with special reference to the Procession of the Spirit', in *Sobornost*, Series 3, no. 20, 1951, p. 401.

which is the image of divine charity, is being reproduced until they reach that point of union with him where nothing 'shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord' (verse 39). In so far as contemplative prayer provides a means of union between the loving soul and God himself, it is an entering into the fruits of the Reparation wrought by Christ both in the Incarnation and in the Atonement. In so far as it is the means whereby the love of God is shed abroad in the hearts of others it is a participation in the reparative activity of Christ himself. To some further consideration of contemplative prayer we must now turn.

In investigating the meaning of Reparation as an activity of love we saw that the dominating motive in the lives of the masters of the spiritual life from St Francis of Assisi to Julian of Norwich was the desire to respond to the love of God with the homage of adoring love. Of St Francis's all-embracing love of God it has been said: 'This love is a perfect prayer, a union with God.' It is difficult to find any definition that will do justice to the meaning of contemplative prayer. This is not only because those who have written systematically on Mystical Theology use different terms to describe the same realities or the same terms to carry different shades of meaning, but also because any attempt on the part of the saints themselves or exponents of their writings is an attempt to express in words what, to some degree at least, inevitably transcends expression. The difficulties of expression of St Theresa or St John of the Cross are at least comparable to the difficulties of Ezekiel or the writer of the Apocalypse. For the purpose of this investigation it will be adequate to define contemplative prayer in a single statement of the Lady Julian: 'Prayer oneth the soul to God.'¹

Before we can examine in detail the significance of contemplative prayer as a reparative activity—perhaps even before we can speak of contemplation as an 'activity'—it is necessary to make several important observations.

In the first place, something must be said about what is meant by union of the soul with God. Considerable discussion has been given in Chapter Four to what is implied by the restoration by Christ of the divine image in man, particular mention having been made of the idea of *recapitulatio* in Irenaeus and that of Christ as the 'Giver of incorruption and deification'. It remains for us to remind ourselves that what was said there has an important bearing on Mystical Theology, or contemplation as it is often called. The idea of the union of the soul with God involves us neither in

¹ ch. XLIII, p. 90.

a particular form of pantheism nor in the destruction of our creaturely status.

This latter is an assertion which cannot be too strongly made for it is a charge that has frequently been levelled when the language of contemplatives has been misinterpreted or misapplied. The saints themselves have often taken particular care to show that the destruction of our creaturely status is not what is envisaged by the Christian's ultimate goal of union with God or by the 'prayer of union' of the contemplative, which is perhaps the nearest the Christian can experience on earth of the Beatific Vision. It is difficult to believe, for example, that St Augustine had any loss of identity in mind, but rather of self-fulfilment, when he wrote: 'Thou madest us for Thyself, and our heart is restless, until it repose in Thee.'¹ The Blessed John Ruysbroeck, whose language is often unintelligible to the ordinary Christian is emphatic on this point; for example, 'We cannot issue out of ourselves into God and lose our created nature; and so we must remain everlastingly different from God, and remain created creatures. For no creature can become God, nor can God become any creature.'² In a later age St John of the Cross was equally emphatic: 'The substance of this soul . . . is not the substance of God, for into this it cannot be substantially changed.'³ The transformation effected in the soul by the indwelling of the Spirit brings about a state of what, as we have seen in Chapter Four, has been traditionally called 'deification', what Dr Mascall in a recent essay calls 'deified creaturehood'.⁴

Another observation that must be made concerns the types and stages of contemplative prayer. One of the chief discussions of the present day in the domain of mystical theology centres round the distinction between 'infused' (sometimes called 'passive') and 'acquired' (sometimes called 'active', although the terms 'infused' and 'passive', 'acquired' and 'active' are not altogether synonymous) contemplation and posits the question as to the existence of a contemplation which may be called acquired. It is a disputed point, for example, whether St John of the Cross recognized the distinction between 'acquired' and 'infused' contemplation. Moreover, it is a well-known fact that the term 'infused' contemplation is used differently in different traditions. Thus, for example, 'for the modern Thomist school, whose procedure is more speculative, the term is extended even to the first stage of contemplation distinguished by St John of the

¹ *Confessions*, I, 1.

² Quoted: *The Spiritual Espousals*, trs. with an introduction by E. Colledge, 1952, p. 28.

³ *Living Flame (Works of St John of the Cross*, ed. E. A. Peers, vol. 3, 1935, p. 158).

⁴ *Via Media*, 1956, p. 123.

Cross, and called in the Teresian school active and acquired contemplation.'¹

In his penetrating book already quoted, Fr Northcott reminds us how misleading such phrases as 'acquired contemplation' and 'infused contemplation' can be. For our present purpose, the important thing is that 'the prayer of contemplation is God given . . . no amount of natural concentration can produce that strange mysterious something in the soul, the something which the soul knows to be the finger of God.'² As in the whole reparative process set forth in the Incarnation and the Atonement, it is divine love that takes the initiative. We might very well say that contemplative prayer is a reparative activity and that it is God himself who is the subject of that activity. Jesus said 'If a man love me, he will keep my word: and my Father will love him, and we will come into him, and make our abode with him.' Such is the soul who is 'oned' to God.

The classification of contemplation into various stages³ need not detain us here. It is, in any case, hard to draw a hard and fast line between the ending of one stage and the beginning of another.

One more general observation. Another of the controversies in this field of thought is concerned with the connection between 'mystical graces' and 'spiritual perfection'. Here we need to remember that what unites us to God is the gift of baptismal grace which we receive on the occasion of our incorporation into Christ. That gift, bestowed upon us as a result of the outpouring of divine love, enables us to make the response of love or charity (*agape*) towards God and towards other people. Christian charity possesses a supernatural quality in that, in so far as it is a gift that we receive from God, we can do nothing to merit it; moreover, in so far as it is the mainspring of Christian activity whether orientated towards God or man, we cannot come by it through the exercise of our natural faculties alone. Nevertheless, having once been incorporated into Christ by Baptism, we have to co-operate with the Holy Spirit so that we may bring forth in our lives the fruits of his grace. For some Christians, this will mean a life of contemplative prayer in the strict sense. Yet the contemplative life is not different in kind, but rather in expression, from that of other Christians who are making a whole-hearted response to God in Christ. At Baptism every Catechumen is admitted into a life of union with God the Holy Trinity, wherein we experience 'the grace of the Lord

¹ Fr Gabriel, *S. John of the Cross, Doctor of Divine Love and Contemplation*, 1946, p. 96.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 186 f.

³ Cf. e.g. A. Baker, *Holy Wisdom*; A. Poulain, *The Graces of Interior Prayer*; C. Butler, *Western Mysticism*.

Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost' (II Cor. 13.14). Baptism, however, is but the initiation into the life of union with God in Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit. Christians achieve the full and final realization of that union through different modes of experience, but the ultimate goal of every Christian, whether contemplative or not, may be perceived in the aspiration of the Psalmist: 'As for me, I shall behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness' (Ps. 17.15).

The experience of the contemplative, however, has a relevance to the life of the Church as a whole. For Christian mysticism¹ does not concern the individual soul and God alone. Enough has already been written in previous chapters concerning the status of the individual Christian as a member of the Body of Christ which is the Church, and the nature of Christian worship to show that any Christian, be he mystic or not, 'in so far as he is specifically christian, does not come to God like the pagan, as the alone to the Alone'.² The experience of the contemplative has a significance extending far beyond the confines of his own religious consciousness, and his very existence carries a constant reminder of the fact that the very purpose and meaning of the Christian life is union with Christ in God. 'What is essential to the Christian life is union with God by faith, hope and charity; it is because the mystic has been given an extraordinary insight into the nature of that union that his utterances are relevant not only to other mystics but to the Church as a whole.'³ It will now be our concern to discuss that relevance in terms of the reparative character and effects of contemplative prayer.

The late Bishop Westcott of Durham is reputed to have lacked sympathy with his great predecessor, St Cuthbert, on the grounds that 'No man has the right to live in a grass hut'.⁴ However much this dictum appears to betray the late Bishop's misunderstanding of the true nature of the contemplative life, there is no doubt that the following words of St John apply to the contemplative, perhaps in a specialized sense, but certainly with peculiar force: 'Hereby know we love, because he laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren.'

¹ Professor Peer's comment is apposite here: 'I often wish there were some word in the English language which we could substitute for the word "mysticism", for as long as it continues to be used, the non-instructed reader will associate it with mistiness; and there never was less mistiness anywhere than in those practical, determined and clear-cut persons, the mystics, among whom none has these qualities in more generous measure than Saint Teresa.' E. A. Peers, *Saint Teresa of Jesus and Other Essays and Addresses*, 1953, p. 17.

² G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 1949 ed., p. x.

³ E. L. Mascall, *Via Media*, 1956, p. 136.

⁴ Cf. A. M. Ramsey, *Durham Essays and Addresses*, 1956, p. 59.

But whoso . . . beholdeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how doth the love of God abide in him?" (I John 3.16, 17).

In a previous chapter we have seen that the salvation of the world was the fruit of the Reparation wrought by Christ and that by virtue of our incorporation into him by baptism we not only share his life but we are charged with the privilege and responsibility of helping forward the salvation of others. The life of contemplation is reparative both in its quality and in its effects precisely in that its greatest exponents as well as the countless unknown saints who have practised it have not only adhered firmly to the principle that in the spiritual life no religious experience is to be sought for itself alone,¹ but have shown a great care and concern for the world. The author of *The Cloud*, surprisingly perhaps, but none the less emphatically, insists that the life of contemplation must be undertaken for the salvation of mankind:

For Christ is our head and we be the limbs, if we be in charity; and whoso will be a perfect disciple of our Lord's, he must strain up his spirit in this ghostly work,² for the salvation of all his brethren and sisters in nature, as our Lord did his body on the cross. And how? Not only for his friends and his kin and his dear lovers, but generally for all mankind, without any special regard more to one than to another. For all they that will leave sin and ask mercy shall be saved through the virtue of his Passion.³

So great is the effectiveness and the fruitfulness of contemplative prayer with regard to the conversion and reclamation of souls that many people find their justification—if justification it needs—of the contemplative life in a recognition of its essentially intercessory and reparative quality. Many writers on the spiritual life hold that the reparative efficacy of contemplation is greater than that of any other type of Christian prayer or of any busy activity. For example, Fr Baker, in his great book, says that contemplatives

do not, without a special and certain inspiration from God, interest themselves in external businesses . . . yet those inexpressible devotions which they exercise, and in which they tacitly involve the needs of the whole Church, are far more prevalent with God than the busy endeavours and prayers of ten thousand others. A few such secret and unknown servants of God are the chariots and horsemen, the strength and bulwarks of the kingdoms and churches where they live.⁴

We may not be able to agree with Fr Baker in his somewhat quantitative

¹ Cf. K. E. Kirk, *The Vision of God*, 1937 ed., pp. 192–207.

² I.e. contemplative prayer. ³ *The Cloud*, ch. XXV, p. 71.

⁴ *Holy Wisdom*, IV, 1, 18, 1876 ed., p. 508.

appraisal of the reparative value of contemplative prayer, especially in view of what we have said above about contemplation being above everything else a gift from God.¹ Nevertheless, we can agree with a contemporary writer that contemplatives have not grasped the true significance of their vocation if they 'seem to think that God will not be satisfied with a monastery that does not behave in every way like a munitions factory under wartime conditions of production'.²

All contemplatives however do not live out their vocation in the context of an enclosed religious order. Many of the greatest of the contemplatives like St Francis of Assisi and St Catherine of Siena have come down from the heights of contemplation to minister to the needs of suffering and sinful humanity.³ In proportion as their intensified union with God led them to a clearer knowledge of his will, it increased their desire for the salvation of others and their eagerness not only to minister to them, but to suffer with them and for them. Far from being an 'escape' from practical affairs and responsibilities the practice of contemplative prayer is often accompanied by the discharge of onerous duties in the world, as in the case of Ramon Lull or the Italian lawyer Jacopone da Todi. St Theresa of Avila, especially, is 'a living refutation . . . of those mistaken though well-meaning persons who picture actives as crawling about busily on the earth, like animated insects, and contemplatives as floating aloft, vaguely and complacently in the clouds'.⁴

Then there is one particular aspect of Reparation that is characteristic of all contemplative prayer. In considering Reparation as a work of love we have seen that one meaning of Reparation is the desire on the part of the Christian to render to Christ a wholly single-minded love and obedience to offset the hatred, indifference or rebellion of so many. This is a motive which we find dominating the prayer life and therefore the actions as well of all the great contemplatives. To take but two examples from widely differing historical circumstances. In thirteenth-century Italy we find St Francis instituting the custom of placing a Crib in church at Christmas and paying honour and devotion to it because 'the Child Jesus had been given over to forgetfulness in the hearts of many'.⁵

¹ Which of course Fr Baker does not deny. In the next paragraph, for example, he speaks of 'those happy souls whom God shall so highly favour as to bring them to the mount of vision and contemplation'.—*Ibid.*, IV, 1, 19.

² Thomas Merton, *The Sign of Jonas*, 1953, p. 39.

³ No careful distinction has been made in this chapter between the different types of contemplative vocation, for all are reparative in essence.

⁴ Peers, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁵ Cf. Thomas of Celano, *Vita Prima Francesci*, 86 (trs. by A. G. Ferrers Howell in *The Lives of S. Francis of Assisi*, 1908).

In sixteenth-century Spain we find St Theresa of Avila writing thus of the strict observance of the Carmelite Rule at her foundation at St Joseph's, Avila:

It was not my intention that there should be so much austerity in external matters . . . as He has so many enemies and so few friends. . . . I determined to do the little that was in me—namely, to follow the evangelical counsels as perfectly as I could, and to see that these few nuns as are here should do the same and . . . I hoped that . . . all of us by busying ourselves in prayer for those who are defenders of the Church . . . should do everything we could to aid this Lord of mine Who is so much oppressed by those to whom He has shown so much good. . . .¹

In Chapter Five we have seen that suffering can be one of the most powerful means of sharing with Christ in his reparative activity on behalf of all men. For the contemplative this will mean all that it means for the ordinary Christian but it will have special relevance to the particular trials, sufferings and temptations of contemplative prayer, such as have been powerfully described by St John of the Cross in the form of the 'Dark Night of the Sense' and the 'Dark Night of the Spirit'.² At the beginning of this chapter we have observed that the Reparation made by Christ involved the recognition and the conquest of evil in all its forms and that prayer was one of the strongest weapons that he used to combat evil. The Christian Church is called to share with her Lord in the overthrow of daemonic forces. The Christian warfare, St Paul reminds us, 'is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places' (Eph. 6.12).

The darkness of the spiritual night demands a faithfulness of unquestioning love and unswerving obedience even to the point of suffering the apparent impotence of dereliction comparable to Christ's agony in the garden of Gethsemane. The soul who experiences the heights of contemplative prayer often has to endure malevolent attacks of the devil of the greatest intensity, meeting, in union with her Lord, the full impact of evil and becoming in union with him the instrument through which the limited power of evil is brought to nothing in the unlimited power of God. The reply which St Catherine of Siena received, when after a period of spiritual desolation she enquired where the Saviour had been during that time, is well known: 'I was in your heart else you could not have endured it.'

¹ *Way of Perfection*, ch. 1 (*Works*, ed. E. A. Peers, vol. II, 1946, p. 4).

² Cf. esp. *The Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Bk. II (*Works*, ed. E. A. Peers, vol. I, 1934).

Willingness to bear the cost is the main condition of the efficacy of intercessory and contemplative prayer alike, as it is of all fruitful Christian discipleship. It is this costliness which unites all prayer to the sacrificial self-offering of our Lord himself and thus imparts to it the quality of reparative satisfaction. Moreover, it is here that we can see that the true meaning of prayer overflows into every activity of human life. 'Pray without ceasing', enjoined the apostle Paul on the church at Thessalonica. Unceasing prayer, which is never suspended and never interrupted, is nothing less than the entire self-offering, in intention at least, of the Christian to God, embracing within it all prayer in the technical sense of the word, all action and all suffering. It is what many writers on the spiritual life call the prayer of the heart, 'the immediate effect of divine love. . . . Actual prayer is charity put into practice; habitual prayer is the disposition inclining to that practice.'¹

Of the prayer of action Père Grou has written: 'Every action performed in the sight of God because it is the will of God, and in the manner that God wills, is a prayer, and indeed a better prayer than any that could be made in words at such times . . . we are always praying when we are doing our duty and turning it into work for God.'² Of similar texture is the prayer of suffering: 'let your sufferings be borne for God; suffer with submission and patience, suffer in union with Jesus Christ and you will be praying very truly.'³

Suffering, action and prayer are interwoven in the Church's priesthood of intercession and because the Church derives her priesthood from that of 'the Apostle and High Priest of our confession, even Jesus', her ministry becomes his instrument to touch and heal souls. The meaning of Reparation which we have unfolded in previous chapters in terms of love and restoration, of compassion and suffering, of sacrifice and satisfaction, is both epitomized and fulfilled in the activity of intercession (in the deepest sense of the word).

The suffering of an intercessor who is chosen to enter deeply into the actual experience of the sacrifice to heal, both in offering the oblation of his prayer and in knowing something of the cost of satisfaction, is not that of a natural sympathy of man for man but of the compassion to suffer the passion of love in union with Christ's love. It is a supernatural activity in which the human love is carried up into Christ's love and the redemptive power of his passion.⁴

¹ J. N. Grou, S.J., *The School of Jesus Christ*, c. 1795, Eng., trs. 1932, XXXVII, p. 280.

² *Ibid.*, p. 281.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁴ Gilbert Shaw, *The Angels of Light and the Powers of Darkness*, ed. E. L. Mascall, 1954, p. 89.

In attempting to elucidate the meaning of Reparation as a Christian activity it is not always easy, or possible, to draw a strict line of distinction between prayer, action and suffering. Their spheres interpenetrate and we may say that the resultant interaction establishes a rhythm of reparative activity which is the Church's response, both corporate and individual, of adoring homage to the generous, outpoured love of God.

9

Reparation and Personal Sanctification

DURING THE COURSE of this investigation much stress has been laid on the cosmic aspect of the Redemption wrought by Christ; on the corporate nature of the Church which is his Body; and on the activity of Reparation as a Christian activity which, in its various aspects, involves the New Israel, the redeemed community, as a whole. No isolation of the individual from the community is possible and it is a fundamental assumption of the thought and experience of the New Testament that to be a Christian is to share in the common life of the Body of Christ wherein 'we are members one of another'. There is, however, in the New Testament a strong and striking paradox concerning the importance of the individual. In Christianity, as in no other religion, each individual has his own supreme and unique value and importance as a child of God. The 'Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world' is himself the Good Shepherd who both lays down his life for the flock and goes in search of the one lost sheep, rescues it and brings it back to the flock. The parables of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin and the Lost Son, as well as the Gospel narratives as a whole, remind us that Christ died on the Cross that he might draw all men unto himself, and that he draws men to himself one by one. Moreover, the mutual interdependence of Christians within the Church in no way implies their loss of individual identity; and the fact that Christ on Calvary died to save mankind corporately in no way alters the fact that the effects of his saving Passion need to be applied to each individual in succeeding generations.

For this reason, the importance of Baptism as the means of our incorporation into Christ cannot be too strongly stressed. Yet at the same time Baptism is but the beginning of the individual's new life 'in Christ'. At least a lifetime of Christian discipline and discipleship, counting 'all things to be loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord' (Phil. 3.8) lies between the newly baptized Christian and the goal, 'the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus . . . who shall fashion

anew the body of our humiliation, that it may be conformed to the body of his glory, according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto himself' (Phil. 3.14, 21). We may regard the work of sanctification as a work which, 'on the Godward side' ($\tauὰ πρὸς τὸν Θέον$) involves the subjecting of all things unto himself through Jesus Christ in the power of the Spirit. In that work, however, the Christian must co-operate, must 'work out his own salvation with fear and trembling' (cf. Phil. 2.12). Hence, from the human side, we may define sanctification as the activity of co-operation with divine grace for the attainment of our salvation. Bearing these considerations in mind, it will be the purpose of this chapter to investigate what part reparation as a Christian activity plays in a life of personal sanctification.

As far as the individual Christian is concerned we may think of Baptism as the sacrament of Reparation, for it is through the waters of baptism that the reparation wrought by Christ for the ravages of human sin is made effective in the life of the individual by 'the mystical washing away of sin',¹ regeneration through the Spirit, and incorporation into 'the body of Christ's Church'.² During the period of the persecutions, however, martyrdom came to be regarded as the equivalent of Baptism in the case of catechumens who died a martyr's death before they had had the opportunity of being baptized. Many factors contributed to the immense reverence which the Early Church had for the martyr and we can find in the early Christian conception of martyrdom much that illuminates the meaning of reparation with regard to the Christian's life of sanctification in Christ.

The fact that the Early Church saw the equivalence of Baptism and martyrdom as far as their effects on the individual is concerned is an important fact as far as this investigation is concerned. For just as we can interpret the meaning of Baptism for the individual Christian as being the sacrament of Reparation so we can see the ideal of martyrdom as the clue to the meaning of Reparation in a life of personal sanctification.

We have seen that the Reparation wrought by Christ was the victory over evil in all its forms and the decisive overthrow of the devil. By virtue of his Baptism the Christian was enabled to share in the triumph of the Resurrection and Ascension, to begin to experience here and now in some measure the powers of the age to come. The Colossian Christians were reminded of this when St Paul exhorted them: 'If then ye were raised with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is, seated on the right hand of God. . . . For ye died, and your life is hid with Christ

¹ Baptism service, Book of Common Prayer, 1662.

Ibid.

in God' (Col. 3.1, 3). The whole of the New Testament bears witness to the fact that 'dying to live' is the principle of the new life in Christ. The Christian who died a martyr's death demonstrated literally and visibly that he had been made partaker of Christ's suffering and death; and the accounts of the early martyrdoms represent the martyrs as being sharers also in Christ's victory over death and the power of the devil. For example, Stephen, as he died, 'saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God' (Acts 7.55). Of St Polycarp it was said: '. . . whose martyrdom all desire to imitate because it was in accord with the gospel of Christ.' The martyr's death was a compelling demonstration of the fact that the gospel is 'the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth' (Rom. 1.16), and by its wholehearted self-surrender and self-forgetfulness was the surest means towards the attainment of personal sanctification, which is nothing less than being 'conformed to the image of his Son', by the power which God gives to follow the ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας, whither his reparative suffering and victory have opened up the way.

Along these lines it is easy to see how the desire for martyrdom came to play such a large part in the spiritual life of the individual Christian. In every age there have been those in whom the desire for martyrdom has been evoked by the longing to be identified with Christ even to the point of death. Hence St Ignatius prayed, 'Permit me to be an imitator of the Passion of my God,'¹ believing that martyrdom would bring him to the goal of personal sanctification: 'Let me be given unto the wild beasts, for through them I can attain unto God.'²

The desire for martyrdom in the first and succeeding eras of Christian history was prompted by a variety of motives which reflect the many-sided aspects of personal sanctification expressed in terms of reparation. We have already observed that the desire to make recompense, to return love and gratitude to God for his love outpoured is the foundation of reparation as a Christian activity. Nowhere is this more evident than in the attitude towards martyrdom of the saints in widely differing circumstances and epochs of Christian history. We may think for example, of Polycarp dying a martyr's death rather than shame his King whom he had served throughout a long life and who 'had done him no wrong'; or of Origen, a little later, declaring that 'the saint has a special sense of honour and wishes to give a recompense for the benefits conferred on him by God; and so he looks around to see if he can do anything for the Lord in return for all he has received. He finds that . . . there is nothing to counter-

¹ *Ad Rom.*, VI, 3.

² *Ibid.*, IV.

balance, as it were, these benefits from God—except a martyr's death.¹ In a later age we find St Francis of Assisi hoping that he might give the fullest expression to his passionate love for Christ by dying a martyr's death as a result of his witness before the Sultan. A similar desire is expressed in Ramon Lull's autobiographical *Book of Contemplation*. Once the book is completed 'he will go and shed both blood and tears for love of Thee in the Holy Land wherein Thou didst shed Thy precious blood . . . wherefore I pray Thee to aid Thy servant . . . that he may speedily go and suffer martyrdom for Thy love, if it be Thy will that he be found worthy thereof.'²

Between the time of the Acts of the Apostles and the period of the martyrdoms, the circumstances of Christian history tended to widen the connotation of martyrdom as a whole (even while it tended to give a definite and precise meaning to the word 'martyr'). In a similar way, when the individual Christian was less likely to be called on to die a martyr's death, acceptance of suffering and trials in a spirit of grateful recompense and joyous self-abandonment became the practical interpretation of St Paul's maxim 'I die daily' and the ordinary means by which the Christian identified himself with the spirit of Christ's suffering and thus advanced in personal sanctification. Intensely personal as the acceptance of suffering must be, it can never be self-regarding if it is to bear the qualities and fruits of reparative activity. The effect of suffering borne for the love of God alone will extend far beyond the sufferer, as St Theresa perceived when she wrote to one of her correspondents: 'By suffering so many trials you are letting Our Lord light the fire of His love in your soul and that fire will gradually enkindle others.'³

Sometimes, indeed, the desire to bring others within the reparative activity of Christ was a motive which stirred and sustained the early Christian martyrs. Origen encouraged those who were about to suffer martyrdom with the thought that their self-offering would avail for others:

Note also that the baptism of martyrdom, as received by Our Saviour, atones for the world; so, too, when we receive it, it serves to atone for many. Just as they who assisted at the altar according to the law of Moses seemed to procure for the Jews remission for sins by the blood of goats and oxen, so the souls of believers that are beheaded for the testimony of Jesus do not assist in vain at the altar of heaven, but procure for them that pray the remission of sins.⁴

¹ *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, Pt. V (Ancient Christian Writers, no. 19), 1954, p. 168.

² E. A. Peers, *Ramon Lull, A Biography*, 1929, p. 102.

³ *Letters (Works)*, Vol. III, ed. E. A. Peers, 1946.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 171.

In his final exhortation, Origen reflects: 'It may be that as we have been purchased by "the precious blood" of Jesus . . . so some will be ransomed by the precious blood of martyrs. . . .'¹

In a previous chapter some discussion has been given as to the extent to which reparation as a Christian activity may be said to be operative on behalf of (*hyper*) or instead of (*anti*) other people. In view of what was written there and of the observations just made it is pertinent to inquire to what extent, if any, the concept of 'victim souls' is compatible with a fruitful doctrine of reparation, especially as it touches the life of personal sanctification in Christ.

In the introduction to his study of the victim spirit in the Bible and the Church, Paulin Giloteaux declares that 'victim states are but the highest level of the life of reparation'.² By 'victim state' is evidently understood the state of soul in which a Christian acts as a 'lightning conductor for the anger of God'. The function of 'victim souls' in the Church and over against the world is described thus:

Up to a certain point, indeed, each soul must be responsible for the offences of her fellows. She is in duty bound to offer reparation for their sin and, from the store of her individual merits, to reimburse her brethren who themselves are destitute of merit or even go so far as the refusal to acquire it. This, on the broadest lines, is the victim's function.³

On such a view the 'victims' of the Church are seen to be the counterparts of the sacrificial victims of the Old Testament and the old saying '*Christianus alter Christus*' is interpreted in terms of a 'substitutionary' and 'transactional' theory of the Atonement such as we have criticized in Chapter Six. When the meaning of sacrifice, whether in relation to the Old Testament, the Death of Christ or the character of Christian discipleship, is interpreted in these terms the conclusion is drawn that 'It will fare badly with us if there are not voluntary victims forthcoming to fling into the other scale of divine justice their sacrifices to God.'⁴

Although the term 'victim soul' does not appear to have been used earlier than the middle of the nineteenth century, its theological presuppositions would appear to be those we have just indicated; and the practical implications of such presuppositions are to be seen far more clearly, so it seems to me, and much earlier, in the lives of St Catherine of Siena and of Lydwine of Schiedam, Colette of Corbie and Francesca of Rome, than in St Theresa of the Child Jesus whom Giloteaux calls the 'pattern of spiritual victims'.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

³ Ch. III, p. 41.

² *Victim Souls*, Eng. trs. 1927, p. 10.

⁴ Père Plus, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

The desire for martyrdom¹ which conditioned the acceptance and the seeking of suffering in the lives of the saints of the late Middle Ages appears to emanate from very different motives from those of the New Testament and patristic periods. During a period when Europe was torn by the growing spirit of nationalism and the Church had fallen a prey to worldliness, ambition, and schism, the saints offered their sufferings as reparation, in the sense of redressing the balance of good and evil, seeing their mission as did Francesca of Rome, as 'a very special mission to be a reparatrix of the crimes of the century . . .'²

Such a notion of reparation as a Christian activity sprang from a conception of suffering dominated by the punitive element; and from a conception of God which seemed not only to involve an anthropomorphic idea of the wrath of God but which also failed to hold the love and the anger of God within the unity of his nature. Moreover, when every allowance has been made for medieval casts of thought without the scientific explanations of secondary causes or the findings and the language of modern psychology, the doctrine of Reparation in terms of sin, suffering and sacrifice such as we have unfolded in Chapters One to Six cannot be applied to the individual life of personal sanctification in any 'substitutionary' way which appears to eliminate the moral responsibility of the person or persons on whose behalf the reparation is made; nor can it overlook the fact that no Christian can perform any action that can be said to be reparatory apart from the all-sufficient Reparation wrought by Christ.

We must therefore regard as inadmissible on the grounds of a defective theology the type of piety that understands the intense physical sufferings of St Lydwine of Schiedam as a substitution for the pains of souls in Purgatory or as a punishment for national shortcomings;³ or the type of piety which approves the nun in Von Hügel's story⁴ who scourged herself because an old pupil of hers was leading an immoral life and told her that she would go on mortifying herself until she amended her way of life, thus putting the meaning of reparation in a life of personal sanctification on an unworthy and inadequate basis from the point of view both of the nun and the girl.

All this, however, is not to say that the sufferings of the Christian bear reference only to his personal sanctification. Just as the life of contemplative prayer is undertaken, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, not

¹—whether by death or by a life of suffering.

² J. K. Huysmans, *Sainte Lydwine de Schiedam*, Paris, 1901, p. 46. Translation mine.

³ Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁴ *Essays and Addresses*, 2nd series, 1930, p. 240.

only that thereby the soul engaged in it should find its complete fulfilment but that through its utter surrender to the divine will other souls may be drawn to God and brought within the scope of his redemptive activity; so the acceptance of suffering in whatever form marks not only the progress of the individual towards sanctification but also transforms the sufferer into a channel through which other souls may be touched and won and the Church as a whole may be purified and strengthened. It was in this light that St Paul, for example, regarded the sufferings which he encountered in the courses of his apostolic ministry. Writing to the Church at Corinth he declares: 'whether we be afflicted, it is for your comfort and salvation; or whether we be comforted, it is for your comfort, which worketh in the patient endurings of the same sufferings which we also suffer . . .' (II Cor. 1.6).

St Paul's thought is set in a context which emphasizes the love of God, the Redemption wrought by Christ, and the meaning of Christian discipleship as inseparable from the Church as a corporate Body. It is only when the inter-relation of sin, sacrifice and suffering is seen in the light of these great biblical doctrines that the meaning of the Reparation wrought by Christ and of reparation as a Christian activity can be rightly related to the question of personal sanctification, and such distortions as we have noted above can be avoided. A fruitful doctrine of Reparation will find the highest point of personal sanctification to be that of 'martyrdom' in the sense of suffering joyously accepted and consciously offered to God for his glory and the salvation of others. The classical example of this type of reparative Christian activity, will be found not in the 'victim-soul' such as Giloteaux and those who accept his theological pre-suppositions exalt, but in such a person as Dr Hodgson describes at the conclusion of his book, *The Doctrine of the Atonement*.¹

At the end of his Hale lectures Dr Hodgson tells the story of an active and able woman whom chronic arthritis of the most painful type had rendered totally helpless.

Yet such was the spirit and sparkle of her conversation, the radiant brightness of her personality, that for those who came to see her those visits were among the brightest spots of their life. . . . Vigorous and alert as she had been in body and mind, it had been a long time before she had found inward peace. It had come only when she had learned to make a daily offering of her sufferings to the Lord who ever liveth to make intercession for us, asking him to accept it, to unite it with His passion and death upon the Cross, and with His intercession for the land and peoples of S. Africa.²

¹ The Hale Lectures, 1950.

² *Ibid.*, p. 153.

It would be as untrue as it would be unfair to say that similar qualities of joy, serenity and self-offering did not characterize the long line of saints in the tradition of St Catherine of Siena, who often reached a high degree of personal sanctity. What we are here concerned with, however, is the legitimacy of their theological presuppositions for an adequate and fruitful doctrine of Reparation. The main lines of difference have already been pointed out. Finally, we may bring into relief the fundamental incompatability from a theological point of view of the two different types of 'martyrdom' by a further comparison. Representatives of the first type will understand the use that is to be made of their suffering in terms of substitutionary expiation, believing that such suffering is of a propitiatory nature so that the piety of one such 'victim-soul' could be described as 'the prayer of an innocent girl whom God will surely obey'.¹ Representatives of the second type will see their suffering as a means of union with our Lord and as a way of co-operation with him in his redemptive purpose without dogmatizing as to how that suffering shall be reparatory. The difference between the two positions is brought out sharply, in the words of Dr Hodgson's friend:

Tell people they must never try themselves to make use of their suffering in lifting people out of their troubles and up to God. That tears the soul in pieces. I know, for I have tried. You must not reach sideways, as it were, and seek yourself to do the lifting up. You must always look upward to Christ and simply ask Him to take what you have to offer and ask Him to make what use of it He will. That way alone comes peace!²

In such transformation of suffering as the attitude of this last example expresses we can see the crystallization of the meaning of suffering within the Christian life. In a life of suffering joyously accepted and consciously offered personal sanctification is attained by means of creative, reparative activity. In a life consecrated to reparative suffering can be seen, as Dr Hodgson himself concludes, 'more understanding of the Christian Faith than can be expressed in seven lectures on Christian doctrine'.³

Within the meaning of reparation as compensation and its expression in terms of personal sanctification there is a further point which calls for mention. Considerable discussion has been given in Chapter Six to the concept of divine anger or wrath, and its implications for a fully Christian doctrine of Reparation, and we have seen that it is the working of divine love alone that is able to deliver us from the consequences of divine wrath. This deliverance is the New Dispensation which Christ in-

¹ Quoted by Père Plus, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

augurated. In Chapter Four we have seen that Reparation as a Christian activity springs from the Pauline conviction that 'we are members one of another' and involves more than pity for the sufferings of others, but compassion to the point of identification. When such identification is born of a fierce indignation aroused by the wrongs of Christians inflicted on others and in a world where, until the final vindication of Christ's triumph, the wages of sin are still death, reparation as a Christian activity sometimes takes the form of desiring to draw down upon oneself the consequences of the sins of Christians which by bringing calamity to others put Christ to an open shame. Thus General Gordon refused to escape from Khartoum when he had the chance to do so and calmly met his death at the hands of the victorious Mahdi. For both theological and political reasons it may startle us to read his words uttered in 1884 as he reflected upon the wrongs inflicted by his fellow-countrymen upon the people of Egypt: 'May our Lord not visit us as a nation for our sins, but may his wrath fall on me hid in Christ. This is my frequent prayer and may He spare these people, and give them peace.'¹ Just as there is, properly understood, a substitutive element in the Reparation wrought by Christ, so the desire for Reparation is too closely bound up with our Lord's redemptive Work for the expiatory and substitutionary element to be entirely absent from the Christian life. The prompting of the desire to make reparation may be expressed in the words of the psalmist: 'Horror hath taken told upon me, Because of the wicked that forsake thy law' (Ps. 119. 53), but it is the desire of a soul moved by intensity of love, love for God and for the souls for whom Christ died. Reparation as a Christian activity springing out of the Reparation wrought by Christ is, as we have seen, the work of love; and the aspiration of the early Christian martyrs or of General Gordon or of many a Christian to pour out their lives even to the death may be seen in the same light as the action of breaking open the box of ointment to anoint the feet of Jesus: 'She hath done what she could' (Mark 14.8).

So far in the course of this chapter we have considered Reparation in a life of personal sanctification as an activity which is directed towards the well-being and salvation of others. In all the endeavour that the attainment of sanctification involves there can be no domination of self-interest, for the dominical paradox holds good for this as for every aspect of the Christian life: 'Whosoever would save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's shall save it' (Mark 8.35).

¹ W. F. Butler, *Charles George Gordon*, 1889, p. 200. Cited Northcott, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

The activity of Reparation for the individual Christian issues from a life of total consecration, following in the steps of a Master who himself declared, 'For their sakes I sanctify myself' (John 17.19). In so far as he is 'in Christ' the disciple can share in the redemptive purpose of God which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord. But it would be arrogant to suppose that this were possible if the Christian were not constantly turning his back on his own sins. We need therefore to consider in what sense reparation is an integral part of that repentance (*metanoia*) which conditions the individual's growth in sanctification.

A common characteristic of the primitive Apostolic Preaching as it is recorded in the Acts and in the Epistles of St Paul, and of the preaching of John the Baptist and of Jesus (at the outset of the Public Ministry at any rate) as recorded in the Gospels, is that of the call to repentance (Mark 1.14, etc.). An examination of the word *metanoeo* and its cognates in their New Testament usage would permit us to draw certain important conclusions as to the nature of the reparation which the individual Christian can, and must, make for his own sins.

In the first place it is of the highest importance to observe that in the New Testament teaching about repentance there is a deep paradox, as there is in the New Testament presentation of many of the essential doctrines of the Christian Faith. Only by recognizing the paradox involved in the meaning of repentance can its true significance for the life of personal sanctification in Christ be realized, and only so can certain widespread and deeply rooted misconceptions or exaggerations of emphasis concerning the nature of reparation for personal sin be avoided. The paradox can be simply stated. On the one hand, repentance is the primary condition of the individual's incorporation into Christ and of his entry into the New Life which Christ came to bring. The teaching of John the Baptist, of Jesus himself, particularly during the Galilean ministry, and of the Apostles after Pentecost is unanimous and emphatic in this regard. On the other hand, it is equally the emphatic teaching of the New Testament that not only forgiveness, which is conditional upon repentance, but repentance itself is not to be thought of as a human achievement but as a divine gift. It was one of the dominant points of the Apostolic Preaching that the Redemption wrought by Christ through his Death, Resurrection and Exaltation availed 'to give repentance to Israel, and remission of sins' (Acts 5.31). And not to Israel only. One of the main effects of the Apostolic Preaching was to bring about this realization: 'Then to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life' (Acts 11.18). St Paul's reminder to the Christians at Rome makes it clear, moreover, that the sig-

nificance of repentance in the life of the Christian cannot be debated in terms of human merit for it is 'the goodness of God (that) leadeth thee to repentance' (Rom. 2.4).

One of the clearest impressions that one forms of our Lord's teaching as it is recorded in the Four Gospels is his condemnation of anything that was insincere and superficial in the presentation and practice of the Jewish religion, especially as it was typified in his day by the scribes and Pharisees. The call for sincere repentance which we have observed in *II Clement* (ch. 1 above) is faithful to the tradition of the New Testament. Above everything else, Christian repentance is marked by a spirit of humility, such as that of the publican in the Temple. It penetrates far beneath the level of lip-service and outward observance and is foreign to any spirit of externalism and self-advertisement such as was demonstrated by the Pharisee in the same parable. Both the desire and the possibility of making reparation or amendment for personal sin must be grounded in that humility and sincerity which alone can engender the qualities of true repentance, namely, acknowledgement that sin is primarily an offence against God, recognition and confession of one's own sin, acknowledgement of the unworthiness of the sinner before God and the desire to make amendment. The true spirit of Reparation is epitomized in the words of the prodigal son: 'Father, I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight: I am no more worthy to be called thy son.'

Reparation both in the sense of offering a recompense to God in gratitude for his deliverance through the mighty acts of Christ, and in the sense of the desire to offer amendment for past sin, is an essential element in that repentance which is the keystone of Christian life and character. Repentance, as it is set forth in the New Testament, involves more than turning away from sin. It involves the active acceptance of faith implied in the Lord's command 'Repent ye and believe the Gospel', without which positive direction of intention there is always the danger that the power of the devil to harm may be renewed with sevenfold intensity. Moreover, the notion of *metanoia* in the New Testament is far wider than the basic connotation of a change of mind. Repentance involves the complete re-orientation of the whole personality whose end is nothing less than the sanctification of the individual Christian within the whole Body until 'we all attain'—and there is no suggestion that the process is either rapid or dateable—'. . . unto a fullgrown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ' (Eph. 4.13).

Nevertheless, there is no escaping the fact that the biblical notion of sin does contain a penal element, and no doctrine of repentance in general, or

of Reparation in particular, which does not take account of it can be said to be either adequate or complete. Equally—however much we may wish to avoid those inadmissible implications of the ‘substitutionary’ or ‘traditional’ theories of the Atonement to which we have drawn attention in Chapter Six—we may not overlook the fact that there is a penal element in the Sacrifice of Jesus on the Cross. Although he himself had committed no sin, Jesus, by taking upon his shoulders the weight of the world’s sin, drew down upon himself the full force of the power of the prince of this world which is the devil, and broke the power of sin to destroy by accepting its full consequence through acute physical suffering and spiritual desolation to the point of death itself, so that when the sinless Son of God died on the Cross ‘there was darkness over all the earth’. It is therefore of the utmost importance to try and determine whether, in what sense, and to what extent, the idea of penance is integral and essential to that reparation for sin without which personal sanctification is impossible.

St Matthew’s Passion narrative gives a moving description of the distress of St. Peter when the realization of his denial came home to him: ‘And Peter remembered the word which Jesus had said, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. And he went out, and wept bitterly’ (Matt. 26.75). In striking and dramatic contrast, a few verses further on, St Matthew describes the reaction of Judas Iscariot when he was faced with the realization of his betrayal: ‘Then Judas . . . repented himself, and brought back the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed innocent blood. . . . And he cast down the pieces of silver into the sanctuary and departed; and he went away and hanged himself’ (Matt. 27.3–5). It seems to me that in the difference between Peter who went out and wept bitterly and Judas who went out and hanged himself there lies the clue to the meaning and the necessity of penance within the activity of Christian repentance or penitence. Contrition and confession alone are not enough and they did not prevent Judas from the violence of remorse. He failed to face up to the consequences of his own sin except by a self-inflicted punishment. Peter, on the other hand, proved himself able to face up to the consequences of what he had done and to accept his Master’s pardon. When he had wept bitterly he ran to the empty tomb on Easter morning and (either then or later) not only saw and believed but, as the exemplar of all Christian penitents, henceforth devoted his life, even to the surrender of it, to the whole-hearted service of his Master for the upbuilding and strengthening of his Church. The essential motive of penance would seem to be the

recognition that, as sin is primarily an offence against God, true repentance involves the desire to make reparation along whatever lines are open; combined with the willingness to face up to the reality, the horror and the consequences of sin even after that sin has been forgiven.

On dominical authority the Christian Church had exercised from the beginning the power to bind and loose, to remit and to retain sins in the name of God. Before the end of the New Testament period the question of post-baptismal sin constituted for the Early Church an acute problem which increased not only as the Parousia delayed, but more especially as the age of persecutions and martyrdoms gave way to the adoption of Christianity as the official religion of an hitherto pagan empire. It may well be that from earliest times there was considerable variation in the Church's exercise of the power of the keys.

The evidence of the New Testament in this regard is scanty and not very clear of interpretation. The author of Hebrews seems to have taken the view that the reconciliation of grave offenders was impossible once they had been baptized (10.26–29). A similar position is suggested by the words of the First Epistle of St John which allowed of no 'prayer' for the sin unto death (cf. I John 5.16). Perhaps the most one can conclude is that a distinction was made between 'sins unto death' and 'sins not unto death', and that only in the case of the latter, whatever they were,¹ was the reconciliation of offenders possible.

Outside the New Testament, *The Shepherd of Hermas* appears to direct that an opportunity of reconciliation should be given to all sinners, however grave their sins, but restricts the opportunity of doing penance to one only. Whether the rule of one penance only existed before *The Shepherd of Hermas* there does not appear to be sufficient evidence to permit us to say. 'All that can be deduced for certain for these earliest days is that the Church had some part to play in the remission of sins; and, almost certainly, from I John, Hebrews and Hermas, that in the case of some sins she wholly refused to use her power.'²

As regards the withholding of absolution altogether, variations of practice appear to have persisted in different parts of the Church from the apostolic age until the Council of Nicaea when 'it became true of the entire Catholic Church that the old rigorism which forbade the reconciliation of grave offenders in this life was for ever put aside'.³

¹ Acts 15, esp. v. 20, is sometimes regarded as evidence that the three capital sins were apostasy, impurity and bloodshed. See e.g. O. D. Watkins, *A History of Penance*, vol. I, *The Whole Church to A.D. 450*, 1920, ch. I.

² R. C. Mortimer, *The Origins of Private Penance in the Western Church*, 1939, p. 5.

³ Watkins, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 468.

By the time of Tertullian there was in full operation a penitential system which was both severe and elaborate and which involved enrolment in the order of penitents, the performance of penances which were often rigorous and lengthy, the rule of one penance only, and which entailed lifelong disabilities. It is no part of our present purpose to trace the history of the Church's penitential system but it is noteworthy that it includes the transition from the rigorism of the Early Church's administration of penance to the 'private' penance as we know it today—a simple confession before a priest followed by the imposition of a slight penance and a sacramental absolution pronounced, in the majority of cases at least, before the performance of the penance enjoined. Two of the greatest changes which invaded the Church's penitential system in the West were the emphasis placed on confession and the commutation of penances. These and other shifts of emphasis involved in so great a transition from the system of the early centuries did not alter the fact that confession, penance and absolution remained the essential elements of the Church's exercise of the power of the keys. So far-reaching, however, was this transition that it has had the result that 'the lesser sins which so easily beset us were brought within the normal sphere of penance, and the grace and comfort of absolution, no longer limited to the very wicked or the heroic, was continuously bestowed upon the ordinary humble and devout Christian.'¹

A survey of Christian history would show not only that to deal with the problem of post-baptismal sin the Early Church evolved a rigorous system of penitential discipline, and that during the first five centuries of Christian history the word '*poenitentia*' was used somewhat ambiguously, to cover a virtue ('penitence'), a 'discipline' ('penance') and a sacrament (absolution as the completion of a good 'penance').² It would also show that throughout the many changes (briefly outlined above) in the administration of penance in the long history of the Christian Church, the idea of satisfaction has persisted in the West in such a way that both the Christian duties of prayer, fasting, almsgiving and good works, and the sacramental penances enjoined by the priest in confession have all been thought of in terms of meritorious actions which, by virtue of their compensatory value, obtain the removal and forgiveness of sin. In this sense the term 'reparation' is used by Roman Catholic theologians as a synonym for sacramental and non-sacramental satisfaction. Here it is well to recall what has been emphasized earlier, that not only did the originality

¹ Mortimer, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

² Cf. K. Kirk, *The Vision of God*, 1937 ed., p. 286.

of St Anselm lie in applying the term 'satisfaction' to the reparation wrought by Christ through his death, but also that it is only in this sense, without, as has been argued in Chapter Six, any necessary implication of the idea of penal substitution, that 'satisfaction' can be used as a synonym for 'reparation' in the sense(s) in which Reparation has been understood to be in this investigation an essential and authentic doctrine of Christian Faith.

The extent to which Satisfaction and Reparation may be thought of as synonymous seems to me to be succinctly defined in the words of the Anglican Communion Service, already quoted, which remind us that it is Christ alone who can make satisfaction for the sins of the world, and that all that Christians can do is to avail themselves of the fruits of the Sacrifice of him who made the one, true, 'perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world'. Hence the theological implications of a doctrine of Satisfaction in a line of descent from Tertullian and reaching us via the Council of Trent, present us with a particular view of the significance of the penance enjoined by the confessor in the administration of the sacrament which calls for special comment. In the Roman Catholic Church the confessor is obliged to enjoin a penance and the penitent to perform it, or at least to signify his acceptance of it, before absolution can be given, for the penance is regarded as being satisfactory in the sense of discharging the temporal penalty or punishment said to be due even in the case of pardoned sins, which if not discharged by sacramental and non-sacramental means in this life will be exacted of us in the next. 'If we have not made satisfaction here below, our soul will be condemned to make it in the next world, before entering into beatitude and will have to pass through purgatory. The name is a perfect description because there penalties due as temporal punishment are purged away.'¹

It is noteworthy that in that section of Swiss Calvinism which has restored the sacrament of confession in the life of personal sanctification the enjoining and acceptance of a formal penance is absent from the rite. After the penitent has made his confession and received counsel he is given absolution. Such a practice is in reaction against any scholastic doctrine of sacramental satisfaction and in line with the ultimate position of the Reformers for whom 'the act of "penitence" consists more in absolution than in contrition, confession and satisfaction, more in the promise of God and the faith of the faithful than in the works of repara-

¹ F. D. Joret, O.P., *Aux Sources de l'Eau Vive* (Eng. trs. *The Eucharist and the Confessional*, 1955, p. 109).

tion. These works are the signs of Mercy freely granted, never a condition of pardon.¹

Between these two extreme positions are those of the Eastern Orthodox Churches and of the Anglican Communion. In most of the former Christians are normally required to make their confessions before receiving communion, although they are not usually given a penance except in special circumstances.² In the Anglican Church, on the other hand, there is no rule about going to confession, but whenever the sacrament is administered it is customary to enjoin and to accept a penance. The Anglican Church in her official teaching nowhere defines her understanding of the significance of the sacramental penance. In actual practice it may be said that there are those priests whose individual custom approximates to the Western tradition of sacramental satisfaction and there are those whose individual custom is in line with the tradition of the Reformers. I think the late Rev. W. L. Knox, who had a wide experience of these matters, may be taken as representative of the Anglican position when he wrote:

. . . the attempt to impose a penance adequate to the sin committed rests in the last resort on the quite untenable supposition that any act of reparation can atone for the injury inflicted on the majesty of God by a single serious sin. The primitive type of penance may have had its value in preserving the standard of the Church against the danger of lapsing into acquiescence in the vices of the heathen world; its heaviest penances were inadequate as a means of offering reparation of an adequate kind as an atonement for serious sin. But the retention of the definite performance of some kind of penance is of the greatest value as a definite act, by which the penitent expresses his recognition of the fact that the sins which he has confessed are actions for which he was morally responsible, and not merely the results of temperamental weakness which he had no power to control. By the offering of some act of *penance*, however small, he acknowledges his own guilt and thus make the difference between the sacramental rite by which the Church forgives sin and the treatment by which a specialist in the healing of mental and moral diseases may hope to cure his patients.³

In attempting to relate the idea of penance to the doctrine of Reparation it has been necessary to think of it, as in the Early Church, as a virtue, a discipline, and a sacrament. Despite many variations in the administration of penance and many diverse interpretations of its significance in the long history of the Christian Church, and despite the shifts and omissions

¹ Max Thurian, *La Confession*, 1953, p. 38. Translation mine; cf. *Confession*, 1958, p. 38 (trs. E. Hudson).

² Cf. N. Zernov, *The Church of the Eastern Christians*, 1942, pp. 44 f.

³ *Penitence and Forgiveness*, with a memoir of the author by H. E. Wynn, 1953, p. 62.

of emphasis in a divided Christendom today, the virtue, the discipline, and the sacrament remain integral to the sanctification of life in Christ and are evident means by which the individual Christian makes what reparation he can for his own sins and those of others.

We may conclude this chapter with the reminder that neither Reparation as a Christian activity nor the sanctification of the individual can be thought of as an end in itself. Both Reparation and sanctification are the work of divine love and the co-operation of the individual Christian in whatever manner can only be understood in terms of the response of love accepted to love offered. 'We love, because he first loved us.' There can be no room for any spirit of mercenary self-interest, for 'one who loves does not know what it is to bargain with God, . . . forgetting all that he has already done for God, he only thinks of how he can do more; he does not praise himself for anything as if it were his own doing; he considers the future reward, not in the light of the recompense he has observed, but as a pledge of loving God with all his strength for all eternity and of being loved by him again.'¹

So far as this present life is concerned the individual Christian is committed to the disciplined path of Reparation and sanctification in the spirit of the Gospel. 'Even so ye also, when ye shall have done all the things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which it was our duty to do' (Luke 17.10). If we tread this way with perseverance and faith we shall be brought not only to love God for what he gives and for what he is, but to that ultimate goal of personal Reparation and sanctification 'when God is loved supremely and alone; for we no longer love ourselves save for His sake, and He himself becomes His lovers' Recompense, Reward eternal of eternal love.'²

¹ J. N. Grou, S.J., *Meditations on the Love of God*, trs. from a French edition published in London in 1796, by the Benedictines of Teignmouth, 1928, p. 78.

² St Bernard, *On Loving God*, ch. XI, trs. CSMV, 1950, p. 76; cf. same title in 'A Treasury of Christian Books', 1959, p. 54.

Reparation in Practical Christian Living

IT HAS BEEN the purpose of the foregoing chapters to show that Reparation is an intrinsic element in the character of the Christian life, which itself is rooted in our baptismal identification with Christ especially in his Death, Burial and Resurrection which he underwent for the salvation of the world. In the course of this chapter an attempt will be made to take note of the ways in which the dominant characteristics of the meaning of Reparation are finding, and have found expression in the day-to-day living of the Christian life within the Church which is his Body. The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, not so much to discuss the theological presuppositions underlying a full and adequate doctrine of Reparation as to indicate the manner in which those presuppositions, which have been discussed in previous chapters, control the devotional and practical activities of professing Christians. It is recognized that the nature of this investigation is to a large extent intangible and that it cannot claim to be exhaustive. Within inevitable limits, however, it has proved to be an interesting and valuable insight into the understanding of the meaning of Reparation in terms of our contemporary Christian situation. Moreover, it is hoped that the examples given below, which for obvious reasons have been kept numerically within bounds but which might well be multiplied indefinitely, may, nevertheless, claim to be both comprehensive and representative.

It has been the predominant purpose of this study to show that the primary meaning of Reparation, whether offered by Christ as Man to God on man's behalf, or by the Church to God through Christ, or by the Church to Christ as God, can be expressed and explained adequately only in terms of love. It is not, therefore, surprising that within our contemporary situation Reparation as a Christian activity is to be found within the general motive of the Religious Life, throughout Christendom, for that motive 'is the closest possible assimilation to the life of Christ which is the life of Reparation.'¹

¹ Fr Geoffrey Curtis, C.R., in a letter to the author.

Those who are bound by the vows of Religious profession to observe the evangelical counsels of poverty, obedience, and chastity with literal simplicity are committed in a particular degree to a life of Reparation. Each of the vows of the Religious state has what we may call a positive and a negative aspect and both are essentially reparative. Moreover, each of the vows has a corporate as well as an individual significance, extending far beyond the context of the community in which it is lived out, enriching and sanctifying the life of the Christian Church as a whole, and challenging and making impact upon the world at large.

In its negative aspect, the vow of poverty separates the Religious from all individual material possessions and ambitions; the vow of obedience separates him from all self-choosing and self-pleasing; the vow of chastity separates him from all natural satisfactions and joys of family life and responsibility. In greater or lesser degree, and varying within different Communions and different communities, ascetical practices and disciplinary exercises of various kinds are undertaken to train and maintain the Religious in a life of renunciation after the example of, and in union with, him who fasted for forty days in the wilderness, who had not where to lay his head, and who could practice certain forms of exorcism only with the aid of fasting. The Reparation wrought by Christ in the Sacrifice of his Life, Death and Burial, although offered in a spirit of joy and looking beyond the Sacrifice to its fruits, involved, nevertheless, the conquest of the world, the flesh and the devil—a conquest achieved only through that perfect self-denial and self-discipline which subjected all things to the Father's will. Under the vow of poverty the Religious is pledged to a high degree of self-renunciation so that the souls engaged in the Religious Life may be detached from all that is not of God, may surrender 'all for all', as the Father Founder of the Anglican Society of St John the Evangelist used to say, 'the all of earth for the all of heaven, the all of man for the all of God'.

In its positive aspect, the vow of poverty liberates both the individual and the community for the untrammelled worship and service of God; the vow of obedience brings the will of the individual and the community alike to delight in all things to do the divine will; the vow of chastity consecrates the individual within the community to undivided and unblemished devotion to God alone. The life of poverty stands as a witness within the Church to mankind's entire dependence upon God for 'our creation, preservation and all the blessings of this life', and as a challenge both to the materialism and secularism of the world and to the invasion

of the Church by worldliness. The life of obedience stands as a witness within the Church to God's unconditional right and claim to man's obedience, and as a challenge both to the world's self-satisfaction and to the spirit of independence within the Church. The life of chastity stands as a witness within the Church to the fact that the relationship between fellow human beings should be that of mutual, unselfish love, and as a challenge both to the world's lust and greed and to the spirit of cupidity within the Church.

Thus, wherever men and women are to be found living faithful Christian lives under the vows of Religion—and today there are many hundreds of thousands of professed Religious spread throughout Christendom—we may see in fullness of expression those qualities of love and worship, of prayer, sacrifice and service which in previous chapters we have seen to be the dominant notes of the Reparation made by Christ Incarnate and in which the Church participates by virtue of her incorporation into him. Nevertheless, although what has been written above applies in a general way to all Religious Orders and Communities, it is important to observe that different aspects of the meaning of Reparation have been given special emphasis in terms of the contemporary situation by different Communions or different communities within the Christian Church. Particular mention must be made of some of these.

It is of interest to observe that in P. F. Anson's detailed and authoritative history of the recovery of the Religious Life within the Anglican Communion since the Oxford Movement, the word 'Reparation' does not appear in the index of subjects but only in the index of names in respect of those communities which have 'Reparation' as part of their title.¹ This omission may be due to the fact that, as we observed above, the whole conception is implicit in the meaning of the Religious Life in general. On the other hand, the book itself makes clear, as does the official *Guide to the Religious Communities of the Anglican Communion*,² that the concept of Reparation is frequently explicit in the case of individual communities either in the intentions of the Founder or in the Rule and Constitution of the Community, or both.

One of the notable examples of this kind is that of the Community of the Sacred Passion, founded in 1911 by the Right Rev. Frank Weston and which is still developing and increasing its work in Central Africa. Anson notes that the second object for which the C.S.P. exists is to 'offer to God a life of complete poverty, chastity, and obedience, in union with the

¹ See P. F. Anson, *The Call of the Cloister*, 1955, *loc. cit.*

² Issued by the Advisory Council on Religious Communities, 2nd ed., 1955.

reparation offered to Him by our Lord upon the Cross.¹ What that ideal implied in the mind of the Founder was that

some, by uniting themselves with the reparation which our Lord made upon the Cross, might offer themselves and their lives as reparation for all the wrong which the white races had inflicted in Africa. Might not white women, vowed to chastity, in some way atone for all that black women had suffered from the lust of white men?²

In previous chapters we have observed that Contemplation of the Passion of Christ has often led his followers to long to find some means of making compensation for his sufferings, and more especially for his present rejection by many of those whom he seeks to love and to save. The words of Bishop Weston recorded in his biography are as relevant to the situation in Africa today as they were when he first uttered them half a century ago, making clear the significance of a dedicated activity of Reparation.³ Over against a situation in which the powers of hell appear to be let loose:

The Community is one of the weapons of Jesus in the present warfare. Here, in Africa, hostile wills are gathered in overwhelming numbers; hostile wills that resist the Church, and weak wills that betray the Church from within. The Community is called to stand by the lonely Jesus Christ, a small band of surrendered wills, wills at one with His Will, enduring with and in His Will unto the end.⁴

The acceptance of suffering and sacrifice in the reparative life of the Community is seen in its true theological perspective when the words of the Founder are recalled:

. . . to continue in filial confidence throughout the whole period of the vocation to suffer is indeed to add to Calvary's glory. To add, that is, not by causing to exist some new sacrifice, but by extending the scope and the fruitfulness of the One Sacrifice.⁵

In both the Anglican and Roman Communions, a different emphasis in the understanding of the meaning of Reparation is to be found in those communities whose Rule and Dedication, like that of the Anglican 'Community of Reparation to Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament', are especially framed to repair as far as lies in their power 'the dishonour done to Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, by continual intercession for those who do not know Him under the Sacramental species of bread and wine.'⁶ Although few communities bear the same specific dedication, most, if not

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 580.

² Maynard Smith, *Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar*, 1926, p. 131.

³ Whether that of C.S.P. or of any of the other Communities at work in Africa.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 134.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁶ Anson, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

all, Anglican religious communities make it their regular and frequent practice, I believe, to include within their devotions a litany or other Act of Reparation to Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, offered with similar intentions to those outlined above.

'Every day is a day of prayer; every work, technically so called, is prayer to be offered up as an act of penance and reparation.'¹ In these words Anson describes the spirit of the Anglican 'Society of the Precious Blood', founded in Birmingham in 1905, and now keeping strict enclosure under Augustinian rule at Burnham Abbey. For the purpose of this investigation little notice has been taken of the distinction within the Religious Life between active, mixed and contemplative communities, for the reparative character of the Life is common to all in greater or lesser degree. Suffice it to remark that the strength of the contemplative life and its power for good lies in its hiddenness and silence.

Contemporary Christians have had the importance and significance of the contemplative life, and more especially of the present-day Cistercian Order, fully explained and assessed in the writings of the Roman Catholic monk, Thomas Merton. To the meaning of Reparation in terms of the Cistercian vocation we must now give some consideration.

It is, perhaps, a commonplace of monastic history that St Benedict shifted the whole basis of asceticism from the exterior to the interior, from the flesh to the will. When the Cistercians inaugurated their reform of Western Monasticism in an endeavour to return to the strict observance of the Holy Rule in the letter as well as in the spirit 'they did not conceive penance as a system of arbitrary practices by which the abbot could tease his monks. The penitential life of the White Monk did not consist in a series of athletic feats of endurance or of systematic flagellations, or even of deliberately staged public "humiliations".'² Today, as ever, the Cistercian vocation is lived out in terms of the searching austerity of labour and poverty. The reparative quality of the life is manifested not in any exterior practices of esoteric asceticism but in the fact that 'the penance of the Cistercians is essentially the penance of the whole human race: "to eat your bread in the sweat of your brow" and to "bear one another's burdens".'³ The same author points out that the very names of the original foundations, Fountains, Clairvaux, Trois Fontaines, Vauluisant, etc., would indicate that there was no 'deliberate intention of dying of malaria'.⁴

The true meaning of all that is efficacious in Christian penance is to be

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 414.

³ *Ibid.*

² Thomas Merton, *Waters of Silence*, 1950, p. 14.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

sought in its positive aspect, issuing in sacrifice, worship and prayer, all of which we have seen to be reparative in essence. Indeed, we may see in the Cistercian life a clear crystallization of the Christian activity of Reparation such as we have delineated it in the foregoing chapters: 'To give up everything and devote yourself without compromise to the love of Christ in the common life is to glorify God and offer Him the worship that most pleases Him, because it most resembles His own infinite generosity and the gift of Himself to us in the Incarnate Word. It enables us to love one another as He has loved us.'¹

That the contemplative life is no less than a sharing with Christ in his redemptive purpose for the world we have already observed. The present-day need for many who will respond to the call of God to live the Cistercian life, as well as the justification of that life, is made plain by the fact that 'though Jesus has saved the world, the fruitful waters of the Cross have not yet been poured out on all mankind. And even in the souls of the baptized, there is still so much that is unfruitful, so much darkness, so much emptiness, so much barren rock.'²

The Cistercian vocation provides ample opportunity for that acceptance of daily trials and suffering, and for that offering of them to God to be used by him as he sees fit for his saving purpose, which we have seen to be important parts of the Christian activity of Reparation. For example, to the Cistercian monk, even insomnia can become reparative.

You just lie there, inert, helpless, alone, in the dark, and let yourself be crushed by the inscrutable tyranny of time. The plank bed becomes an altar and you lie there without trying to understand any longer in what sense you can be called a sacrifice. Outside in the world, where it is night, perhaps there is someone who suddenly sees that something he has done is terrible. He is most unexpectedly sorry and finds himself able to pray.³

It has been given to the Cistercians within the Providence of God to experience in full measure and to demonstrate what has been written in the last chapter concerning 'martyrdom' as being integral to the meaning of Reparation. I refer to the events which culminated in the annihilation of the Cistercian monks, most of whom were Chinese, at the monastery of Our Lady of Consolation at Yang Kia Ping, North China, beginning on July 8th, 1947. Intensive Communist propaganda had spoken of the 'cruel exploitation' of the peasants by the 'capitalist pro-Japanese imperialists'. After 'trials' at which allegations of 'giving information to the

¹ *Ibid.*

² Thomas Merton, *Silence in Heaven*, 1956, p. 19.

³ Thomas Merton, *The Sign of Jonas*, 1953, p. 41.

Japanese', of 'oppressing the poor', of 'keeping firearms' and the like were made, the villagers were stirred up by the Communists to attack and pillage the monastery, which they did on July 8th, 1947. All this was followed by a burlesque of legal procedure at which the monks were publicly beaten up in the church, condemned to death, subjected to psychological attacks and attempts at indoctrination. When attempts at secularization failed, the expelled monks were taken on a terrible, forced route march during the course of which many died.

These events have an inner significance quite unknown to their Communist tormentors. As the Chinese and European Cistercians filed out of the Chapter room, along the Cloister and into the Choir,

the gripping earnestness of their situation must have seized them with great force as they lined up in the middle of the Choir, before the stripped High Altar and its empty Tabernacle, while the Red soldiers who were to be their judges sat in the choir stalls on either side of them. Here, in this church, where so many of them had given themselves to God by solemn vows, the full inescapable meaning of the Cistercian vocation was brought home to them more graphically than they had ever imagined possible. That they should be victims with Christ for the world, that they should fill up, in their bodies, what was wanting in the sufferings of Christ, for His Church; that they should dedicate their lives to God in a total, uncompromising abandonment of their whole being into His hands, to do with as He pleased; to lay down their lives as holocausts of adoration to the infinite God as a testimony, as a witness to His great glory . . . they were actually living out now in all truth. They were being perfect Cistercians in the fullest sense of the word. They were fulfilling to the letter the Benedictine ideal: to 'prefer absolutely nothing to the love of Christ' and to live as men 'whose bodies and whose very wills are no longer in their own power.' . . . The trial ended with the death sentence being passed on the Trappist monks and brothers. Their wrists bound with wire, standing at the presbytery step before the sanctuary lamp, they heard the sentence on the very spot where most of them had chanted their promise of 'stability, obedience, and conversion of manners before God and His saints', when they made their solemn vows.¹

It is not always, perhaps not often, possible to see the fruits of the reparative sacrifice of Christians. It surely cannot be without significance, however, that a new Cistercian monastery at Utah sprang up and began a period of flourishing growth on the very day when the annihilation of Yang Kia Ping got under way. The significance of their martyrdom extends, no doubt, far beyond the circumstances of their own Order into that wider realm where, perhaps, 'there is no greater glory than to be

¹ *Waters of Silence*, pp. 258-9.

reduced to insignificance by an unjust and stupid temporal power, in order that God may triumph over evil through our insignificance.¹

One of the most outstanding manifestations during the present century of the activity of the Holy Spirit within Western Christendom has been the revival of the Religious Life in the Lutheran Church in Sweden and Germany, and in Swiss Calvinism. Special mention must here be made of the *Oekumenische Marienschwesternschaft* at Darmstadt for whom the idea of Reparation has a particular meaning within the origin and continuing purpose of their life. The Sisterhood grew out of a Bible-class which had been started as far back as 1935, but which found its turning-point in the air-raid on Darmstadt in September 1944. This the Foundresses and the first Sisters looked upon as a divine judgement bringing to them 'a new realization of the need for repentance, of reparation, and of constant intercession.'²

Although the Sisterhood is dedicated to Mary the Mother of the Lord, to follow her example of obedience and self-surrender, the chapel of the Mother-House is dedicated to the Sorrows of Jesus and in this dedication may be found the mainspring of the devotional life of the Sisterhood and the clue to their understanding of the meaning of Reparation. Much of the devotional life of the Sisterhood flows from intense compassion for the present sufferings of Jesus³—present in the following sense:

Who can conceive the depth of desire in the Godhead towards the children of men? Let us ever remember that the Heart of Jesus suffers today—yes, today—just as it suffered during His passion. It could not be otherwise. The loving heart will always suffer while the beloved is not happy. Our Lord Jesus beholds His beloved, the souls for whom He has wrought salvation, in all the misery of their sin and affliction. His compassion fails not, but so many souls ignore it. And when it is thus ignored, deep grief pierces the holy Heart.⁴

Compassion for the sufferings of Jesus calls out from the dedicated soul an intense desire and willingness to share his grief. The primary motive of love expresses itself in the offering of their common life of worship and service, ever renewed by prayer, repentance, and self-renunciation. The Sisters are 'consumed with a passion to make reparation to Jesus for all the brethren fail to render of love and praise and trust and readiness to

¹ *The Sign of Jonas*, p. 76.

² *The Oecumenical Sisterhood of Mary, Its Origin and Purpose*, 1954, p. 1.

³ The intensity of their awareness of the present sufferings of Jesus does not dim their recognition of the fact that their faith takes its stand on 'the accomplished victory, the finished redemption from Satan's power'. Mother Basilea, *Mirror of Conscience*, 1954, p. 34.

⁴ Mother M. Basilea, Foundress, *The Present Sufferings of Jesus* (undated, c. 1954).

follow Him'.¹ Their desire to make Reparation finds its chief expression in the prayer of the Sisterhood which permeates its whole life:

Our prayers are not only intercession, but also the acknowledgment of our own sin and that of those for whom we pray, and we seek to give to this desire for Reparation a practical character in our daily life, especially concerning our sins towards Israel and the division in His Body.²

Since the foundation of the Sisterhood the Sisters have grown in an increasing awareness of the sins which the German nation committed against the Jews before and during World War II, and in an increasing desire to enter into the reality of the suffering caused, and to atone for it by doing good to the Jews along whatever ways lie open to them. This desire has borne fruit in many directions and culminated in a visit of the two Foundresses to Israel in 1955. The words of the Mother Foundresses are worth quoting at some length as they open up the meaning of Reparation in a way which ought to have special relevance for all nations who call themselves Christian and yet perpetrate many wrongs and injustices against fellow-Christians and non-Christians alike:

For many months already God has laid very specially on our hearts the sense of our guilt as Germans towards His Chosen People; that we drove six million Jews to an inhuman death. This has given us a new love for that people which is His People, and we felt called to a fresh intercession and service . . . all that we did to His people was done to Him. . . . By the great wrong which we, a people who know Christianity, have done to Israel, we have made the message of Jesus unbelievable. How can they, after all that has happened, believe that Jesus is Saviour, Redeemer, Sanctifier? We are conscious that we, the 'house of God' on whom the Judgement is to fall first, have done little or no penance. Did we not keep silence, for fear, when justice was distorted, when synagogues were burnt? How little, if at all, did we help the wretched, the outcast, the tormented, who were being driven to the gas-chamber, who were, according to Jesus's parable, our neighbours who fell amongst thieves. . . . What should we as Christians do? Nations know a law of recompense, which applies to us towards Israel. Evil deeds must be expiated. But does not God expect of us that we should do good especially to those who suffered such terrible things amongst us? We should speak the word of truth to those against whom we have sinned: We have sinned, and we will do good unto Israel to the uttermost of our power.

Whenever a stream arises, there it finds a bed along which to flow. And so it went without saying that after the Holy Spirit had kindled the flame of repentance in our hearts, that flame took its course. We began to care for the graves of those Jews whose entire families had been

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Origin and Purpose*, p. 4.

wiped out. We denied ourselves warmth and food in order to give alms towards the reconstruction of Israel, realising with the deepest shame how we had driven old people and sick people and children of the Jews to want the necessities of life. Every morning we take our breakfast standing, remembering how the Jews had to stand for hours during the roll-calls in the horror-camps; and as we thus stand we pray for the needs of Israel and call down blessings. God gave us the grace of forming many new friendships with Jewish families. And thus also the journey of Mother Basilea and Mother Martyria, to Israel was not merely a visit to the Holy Places but in the first place a visit to the People of Israel.¹

With a similar intense realism the Sisterhood endeavours to repent of the sin of schism, to pray for the healing of the rents in the Body of Christ, and to take whatever opportunities God gives for learning from Christians of other Communions and for deepening the reality of understanding and fellowship between them.

While it is true that the reparative activity of Christians in prayer and worship, in suffering and in work is found especially operative in the lives of those who under the vows of Religion are called to live the life of the Counsels with special intensity, it is equally true that the reparative activity of Christians is not confined to the Religious Orders. To receive the fruits of the Reparation wrought by Christ and to participate in his redemptive activity for the glory of God and the salvation of mankind, is, as has been frequently asserted in the course of this enquiry, both a privilege and an obligation laid upon every individual Christian by virtue of his Baptism. Our investigation of the extent to which Reparation is integral to the practice of Christianity within the contemporary situation cannot be confined, therefore, to the Religious Life. Many of the marks of reparative activity which we have noted to be dominant in the Religious Life of today are also to be found stamping the character and the witness of many Christians, both clergy and laity alike, who are not members of Religious Orders. Furthermore, in so far as it is possible to speak of Reparation as a special vocation within the Christian life such a vocation is not necessarily confined to the Religious vocation as such. During the course of this investigation frequent reference has already been made to the lives and writings of many Christians to whom it has been given to express the meaning of Reparation as a Christian activity in one way or another, but who have not been Religious. The rest of this chapter will be given to investigating further the extent to which Reparation as a Christian activity is to be found within our contemporary situation, outside the Religious Life.

¹ *Newsletter*, 1955.

We have seen that the basis of Reparation as a Christian activity is the desire to return to God love and homage and obedience in the place of hatred, indifference and disobedience. Amongst the many forms in which such a desire is expressed in contemporary Christianity there are certain very widespread 'special devotions', notably those connected with the dishonours done to the sacramental presence of Jesus in the Holy Eucharist, and those offered to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Mention has already been made of the former and there is nothing further to add here except to say that the desire to offer contrition for all sins of irreverence, blasphemy and disbelief regarding the Sacrament of the Altar and to outweigh such sins by positive acts of reverence, devotion and belief finds expression in the worship and the lives of a very large number of Christians of various denominations, of divergent Eucharist theology and extending far beyond the confines of the Religious Life. Some further mention must be made of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart, as it appears that for many Christians it is within this context that the predominant, if not the only, meaning of Reparation as a Christian activity is to be found.

Devotion to the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus owes its origin, historically speaking, to the apparitions seen by St Margaret Mary Alacoque from 1673-75 and has always been closely connected with devotion to the Blessed Sacrament on account of the fact that the Saint related her experience in the following way, believing that Christ revealed to her the sorrows of his Heart in the following words:

Behold this Heart which has so loved men that It spared nothing, even going so far as to exhaust and consume Itself to prove them its Love. And in return I receive from the greater part of men nothing but ingratitude, by the contempt, irreverence, sacrileges and coldness with which they treat Me in this Sacrament of Love. . . . Therefore I ask of you that the first Friday after the octave of Corpus Christi be dedicated as a feast in honour of My Heart, and amends made to It in an Act of Reparation offered to It and by the reception of Holy Communion on that day, to atone for the outrages It has received during the time It has been exposed on the Altars. I promise you that My Heart will open wide to pour forth lavishly the influence of Its Divine Love on all who will render and procure for It this honour.¹

In the intervening centuries the Devotion to the Sacred Heart has come to signify so much to the Roman Catholic Church that the Encyclical *Miserentissimus* of Pope Pius XI² enjoined the universal duty of reparation to the Sacred Heart. The object of the reparation is seen to include

¹ Quoted by Louis Verheyelzoon, S.J., *Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus*, 1955, Introduction, p. xxvii.

² May 8, 1928.

not only the conduct of men towards the Blessed Sacrament but all unworthy behaviour offered by man to Christ as Man. The part of the Encyclical which treats of the reparation which must be made for the outrages of human sin makes clear that the motive of Reparation is the motive of love:

If in the Consecration¹ the first and chief thing is that the love of the Creator should be repaid by the love of the creature, there follows of itself another duty—namely, to compensate this same uncreated love for the indifference, neglect, offences and outrages of all sorts which may be committed against it. This debt is what is commonly called the duty of reparation.²

The papal declaration accords with the principle frequently asserted in this study, namely, that Reparation is the work of love. In practice, however, the way in which devotion to the Sacred Heart is both advocated and carried out is so frequently open to grave objections that, in order to avoid misunderstanding, some further comment is called for, although extensive treatment is not possible here. I will confine myself to four of what I take to be the most serious dangers or objections from a theological point of view.

At the beginning of Chapter Two I have suggested that the motive of appeasement is not only inadequate but erroneous as a Christian motive of Reparation. If the subsequent argument has substantiated the statements there asserted it is all the more misleading to find an eminent theologian of the Roman Catholic Church speaking thus of the special intention of Holy Communion on the Feast of the Sacred Heart: '... we should receive Him as a God irritated by man's sins Whom we wish to appease. . . .'³ Although the author goes on to speak of the motives of homage and love, this first disposition would appear to be unreconcilable with both the biblical and theological basis of the doctrine of Reparation expounded in this investigation.

A second motive of Reparation which we have found to be both unworthy and irrelevant is the motive of reward, more especially when reward is understood within the context of the treasury of merit. If, as the papal encyclical suggests, disinterested love is the true motive of Reparation, it is incongruous to imagine that 'to persuade us to comply with His wish, Jesus made magnificent promises in favour of those who

¹ I.e. 'the pious Consecration by which we give back to God's eternal love all that we are and have received, and devote ourselves to the Divine Heart of Jesus.' Encyclical *supra*.

² Verheyelzeoon, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

³ J. Croiset, S.J. Quoted by Patrick O'Connell, *The Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus*, 1951, p. 15.

practise it' (devotion to the Sacred Heart).¹ Moreover, the naive and speculative nature of the *Twelve Promises of the Sacred Heart* only add to the impossibility of taking them seriously for those Christians whose theological presuppositions do not permit them to accept the doctrine of the treasury of merit. Similarly, whatever great qualities of authentic Christian devotion may be observed and experienced in honouring the Sacred Heart of Jesus, sufficient has been said in previous chapters as to the sense in which the term 'satisfaction' is to be understood in relation to 'reparation' for it to be apparent that the following interpretation of the experience of Margaret Mary Alacoque is incompatible with the doctrine of reparation expounded in this study:

In obedience to the wishes of Our Lord, she made to His Sacred Heart a donation of all the satisfactory merit of her good works offered for her after her death. Our Lord was pleased with her offering and in return made her heiress of His Sacred Heart and of all the treasures it contains, permitting her to use them as she wishes.²

Theological justification of devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, whether that devotion be expressed in the Evangelical fervour of mission hymns like 'Jesus, lover of my soul, let me to thy bosom fly', or in the Catholic patterns of liturgical and extra-liturgical worship, is to be found in the doctrine of the Humanity of Christ, along the lines sketched out in Chapter Three above. Taking their cue from the allegorical illustrations of some of the Early Fathers it is a commonplace of much contemporary Roman Catholic theology to find 'the infinite treasures of the Heart of Jesus prefigured in the very first pages of Genesis'.³ Thinking along these lines it is possible to find in the opening in the side of Adam the prefiguring of the opening in the side of Christ, 'a haven of safety from the just anger of God',⁴ or to see the Ark of the Covenant and the Holy of Holies as types of the Sacred Heart. Despite the fact that the popular understanding of the Christian Faith has been nurtured throughout the ages by the typological interpretation of Holy Scripture, there can be but little justification of the typological method, unless there is a true historical and theological correspondence between the Old Testament type and the New Testament anti-type in which it is fulfilled.

Another line of objection to the popular presentation of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart is suggested by the pictorial representations in common use in Roman Catholic churches, in manuals of piety and the like. Such representations not only suggest a dichotomy between the Sacred

¹ Verheyelzeoon, *op. cit.*, p. 233.
³ O'Connell, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

² O'Connell, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
⁴ *Ibid.*

Humanity and the Sacred Divinity of Christ but may well mislead the unlearned and the uninstructed into isolating the physical or anatomical heart of the Saviour. It is nevertheless a Jesuit who has well summed up both the dangers of such representations of the physiological heart of Jesus and the true evangelical significance of Devotion to the Sacred Heart. After pointing out that pictorial representation is not an absolute condition of the Devotion he goes on to speak of the symbolism of St John's account of the piercing of the side of Christ at the Crucifixion, and concludes:

Perhaps this gospel picture is the most capable of evoking the Sacred Heart. In any case, devotion to the Sacred Heart seems now to be moving towards a deeper realisation of its gospel origins. The loving person of the Saviour is revealed to us in its authentic truth through the texts of the Gospel, and it is there first of all that we must discover it. . . . It is the Gospel that will provide the best reply to the question 'What is the Sacred Heart?' or rather 'Who is it?' by showing the person of the Son of God Incarnate wholly revealed in his love.¹

Such a perception as this brings us back to the central truth of the Christian gospel, where the meaning of Reparation as a Christian activity is seen to be both catholic and evangelical.

We must now take note of some further examples of the way in which it has been possible to observe the meaning of Reparation expressed in terms of practical Christian living.

We have already observed that suffering is the most common and the most powerful means by which in their own experience Christians can unite with Christ in his reparative activity for the redemption of the world. As an example of this we may think of John Shumba, an African catechist² of the Church of the Province of South Africa. He was a young, healthy man serving his Church faithfully as a Christian husband and father, head teacher and catechist in his Zululand village. Still in his youth, he was stricken with an incurable disease and was taken to one of the big urban hospitals of South Africa where he lay for many months. During this time a heathen African boy whose legs were stricken with paralysis lay helpless, and apparently dying, in the next bed. As a result of his friendship with John and of the latter's prayers and witness this young boy was led to ask for Christian baptism. When the priest baptized him he told him: 'I felt the strength return to my legs.' The next day John died.

¹ J. Calot, 'Quel est l'objet de la dévotion au Sacré Coeur?' *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, Tome 77, November 1955, p. 938. Translation mine.

² For obvious reasons a fictitious name has been supplied.

In Chapter Nine we have seen how Reparation and personal sanctification are linked together in the Christian concept of 'martyrdom'. This aspect of the meaning of reparative Christian activity could scarcely be more strongly and clearly exemplified than in the life of one of the author's former African students, Solomon Rudo.¹ Solomon was a youth of great ability and promise, but his progress was severely handicapped by long and frequent absences occasioned by a tubercular hip. There came a time when Solomon was preparing for an important examination and had to be told that the condition of his leg made it imperative for him to return immediately to hospital where he would have to remain for at least two years, spending most of his time on his back. When the principal broke the news to him his quiet, serene reply came back: 'Yes, Brother, what will God allow me to use it for, I wonder?' The only time during his protracted spell in hospital when he asked us to send him anything was when he asked us for a plentiful supply of pencils and paper. He used his time in hospital to teach Bible stories and the fundamentals of the Christian Faith, together with the three Rs, to a large number of small fellow patients and many children from the surrounding veldt, who in that land of limited opportunity are inevitably found in the vicinity of every mission school and hospital.

We have dealt at some length in Chapter Eight with the part played by intercession as a potent instrument of Reparation. Intercession in its deepest sense passes beyond the reach of words and is frequently identified with a ministry of suffering accepted and offered on behalf of others. Such intercession is often used by the Holy Spirit as the instrument of his reparative activity, but the instances and the effects of it must for the most part be known only to God, for it belongs to an intimacy and an intimacy of spiritual activity which is of necessity 'hid with Christ in God'. One may cite, however, the instance of a daily communicant who suffered from a virulent disease. After a period of freedom from attack she was subjected to a fresh attack more violent than before and which all proved methods of treatment failed to alleviate or cure. Just at this time a leading local clergyman got into moral difficulties and there was a public scandal. When she heard about this the lady decided not to search further for a cure but to accept and to offer her suffering to God with the prayer that it might be used, if he saw fit, for the priest's reclamation. This intention of hers was told to no one, but one day as she was returning home from church she met a friend who told her that the priest in question had taken the only step possible to extricate himself and to heal

¹ Again a fictitious name has been supplied.

the scandal. Within a short time her disease cleared up and did not recur.

We have maintained that the Christian virtue of compassion becomes reparative in quality when it deepens into identification. Mention has already been made of the Rev. Fr Trevor Huddleston, C.R. No greater testimony could be paid to all that he has done towards the reparation of the breach between black and white in South Africa than the fact that many Africans have paid him the compliment of regretting that he is not black.

It is the same spirit of identification which enabled Margarita Berger-Hammerschlag to endure the frustrations of teaching Art in an East End club for adolescent boys and girls;¹ or the Italian priest, Mario Borelli, to live the life of the *scugnizzi* in the worst slums of Naples. To win these people for God he went to live among them on their own level. He assumed their dress, speech, habits. He even 'ate the bread that was bought with money stolen from Church poor-boxes. He peddled the cigarettes that were smuggled through the customs or filched from the glove-boxes of American cars. . . .' Reading between the lines of his biography we can estimate the personal cost to Borelli of this sacrificial way of life, even after he had resumed his priestly functions. 'No matter what he did, no matter how much good flowered under his hands, he would always be haunted by those moments when he was a man and not a priest.' 'Perhaps', suggests Morris West, 'it is the Almighty's way of saving the best of his servants from the ruinous sin of pride.'²

Within the Christian community such a spirit of identification is possible both because of the corporate nature of the Church and because of the solidarity in Christ of restored human nature. Within the context of personal responsibility on the one hand and the goal of fully redeemed humanity on the other, there arises within the Christian the desire to make compensation or restitution for the wrongs done by Christians or in the Name of Christ. The pattern of modern society and the position of Christians in the world today readily evoke the desire to make Reparation for wrong done. When, for example, Mirfield took over the management of Codrington College, Barbados, one of the Fathers who was sent to work in the West Indies envisaged thus the significance of their task: 'In some respects this may be regarded as a work of reparation for what has happened in the past and is happening now in Africa—for our own slave trade, and for the renewed attempt of something of the same kind in S. Africa today'.³

¹ M. Berger-Hammerschlag, *Journey into a Fog*, 1955.

² Morris West, *Children of the Sun*, 1957, from which the above quotations are taken.

³ C.R. Quarterly, June 1955.

Whatever may be our opinion of the political events in the Middle East in the autumn of 1956, which led up to the evacuation of most British citizens from Jordan in November 1956, there can be no doubt of the fact that it will be a long time before British Christians can return to Jordan as missionaries. Before the British left, many of them associated themselves with a message which was read in Arabic at the Arabic services in Jordan the Sunday before they left and which included the following words: 'The entail of these days will outlast our generation and our power to retrieve. We cast ourselves upon the grace of God and your love in Christ. We ask that he may enable us to do something redemptive with our shame.'¹

It is in a similar light that many Christians view the heresies and schisms which have fractured and rent asunder the visible unity of Christ's Holy Catholic Church. The contentiousness which continues to mar the witness of the Church in the world reveals the truth of St Augustine's warnings that the loss of visible unity is accompanied by the loss of charity, which should rule the Body of Christ. The last seventy years or so has witnessed a growing realization amongst Christians that schism is sin and the increasing longing that in the matter of Christian unity God may 'enable us to do something redemptive with our shame'. The ecumenical movement has done much to bring many Christians into a deeper awareness and fuller understanding of traditions other than their own and there is serious prayer and effort in all parts of Christendom that the schisms may be healed. Nevertheless, the many schemes for reunion which are under consideration or which have been put into operation have brought, and will continue to bring, serious misgivings to many Christians when it is not remembered that heresy as well as schism is sin. Because no schemes of outward union can succeed which do not depend on inner unity of spirit, and which do not spring from a humble and penitent waiting upon God, perhaps the chief means by which visible unity will be restored to the Church is the reparative offering of prayer and worship, discipline and work such as that of the Lutheran Sisterhood of Mary, which we have noted above. Hidden and silent in many parts of Christendom are those who either corporately or privately are offering to God their work and their worship and especially their unavoidable sufferings and limitations, as well as their voluntary mortifications and penances, for the healing of schism.

One could multiply almost indefinitely the contexts in which Christians, both individually and corporately, are engaged in reparative activity for

¹ *Church Times*, November 9, 1956.

'the healing of the nations'. We cannot do better than close this chapter by quoting at some length from a sermon recently preached in Southwark Cathedral, for not only does it aptly and vividly summarize the meaning of Reparation in the day-to-day practice of the Christian life, but it recalls the biblical presuppositions with which this investigation began and upon which it has proceeded, and which must remain the criterion by which the doctrine of Reparation expounded in these pages must be authenticated:

But then to some of us . . . to those specially chosen, Jesus is Lord neither in the miracle of deliverance, nor in the miracle of endurance. He is known in his strange work; in the miracle of vicarious Sacrifice. These are they—like Jeremias, like Saint Paul—who are deliberately led by God to where the tragedies lie in order that they themselves might bear the weight of them. They will often wonder where the sense and the meaning of these things are; and yet will be shown the answer in the willingness of their acceptance and the obedience of their patience and their faith. They will see that this is their vocation—to bear tragedy not for their own sakes but for others. These are the children of Reparation. By their righteousness these servants are sent to justify many. These are the children of faith—for their eyes shall not see the end until hereafter: but looking unto Jesus, they will like Him, with Him, endure the cross, despising the shame, for the joy that is set before them: the joy of filling up in themselves the sufferings of Christ for his body's sake which is the Church. This is the deep secret joy of the Lord which is given to them in the very deepest intuitions of the Holy Ghost.¹

¹ From a sermon preached by the present Bishop of Croydon from the text of I Cor. 12.3b in Southwark Cathedral on August 5, 1956.

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